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Staro Nagoričino, *Torture of St. George by piercing of the feet*, 1315–1317

ornamented books and censers. The accompanying long inscriptions explain the scene but make no mention of the names of the emperor or the patriarch, omitted also in the texts, because the actual date of this event is not quite certain. A large church was built over the new tomb of St. Stephen in Constantinople whence the cult of this saint spread to all the neighbouring states, including Serbia. The frescoes of Žiča are certainly one of the finest expressions of this cult.[152]

The north parekklesion of Žiča was dedicated to St. Sabas of Jerusalem and contained a cycle of this saint of which only insignificant remains have survived to this day. However, owing to the work of the first explorers of Žiča we do know that this cycle ended on the west wall with the Death of St. Sabas. This composition was very similar to other death scenes of monks in Byzantine art, for example, the Death of St. Euthymios in his parekklesion in the church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki (1303). The body of St. Sabas is layed out on a coarse mat and monks are gathered around it; a priest standing above the head of the deceased reads the service of the dead from an open book and the deacon by his side holds a lighted candle. Sabas died in the desert so that a rocky landscape appears in the background. His death, however, was more than just another death of an ordinary monk because, upon leaving the body, his soul went directly to heaven: at one time, at the top of this composition, one could actually see the angels in a segment of the sky, receiving the saint's soul, as well as figures of monks around the bier raising their arms and, as if in a vision, pointing towards the heavens and the angels. Since no other cycle of St. Sabas has been preserved in Byzantine art, although its existence at one time is indisputable, and because even this cycle in Žiča is no longer extant, at this moment it is not possible to say anything more about it or its iconography.[153]

Frescoes in Refectories

In any monastery, the refectory was the building second in importance only to the church. The complex rite of eating was regarded as a continuation of the everyday services performed in the church. Therefore, the topography of the path leading from the church, through the narthex to the entrance to the refectory, the course of the meal and, following that, the exit from the refectory were precisely determined by instructions found in monastery typika and further upheld through the themes of the frescoes chosen to decorate these spaces. Compositions which appeared on such locations were there to keep the monk's thoughts focused on the greatest mystery, the mystery of the Eucharist, and to set before his eyes the examples of endless mercy of the Lord, the provider of all spiritual and corporeal food. Sharing a common table, even in the refectory monks were partakers in the mystic supper which Christ shared with the apostles. As Christ did once, the hegoumenos blessed the food and all the brethren were encircled with images which transported them to the higher, eternal and unalterable reality of the moment when Christ put his blessings on the bread and wine. Many other representations, relating themes from the distant or the more recent past, reminded them of the moment when God, directly or in corporeal form, shared food with men or procured and multiplied it for them, thus giving them communion. The prayers read at the beginning and the end of meals evoked the sacrifice of Christ as the food of eternal life, the lives of saints read on their feast days revived the memory of the Lord's elect and the images of holy monks and hermits on the walls instructed the brethren and confirmed the truth of the words to which they were listening. Common meals, a distant echo of the ancient agapae, required the construction of spacious halls which would end in a semicircular apse – another reminiscence of the Zion cenacle. The hegoumenos would sit in front of it, in imitation of Christ, and bless the food. In the days of king Milutin, when the generous ktetors, and most of all the king himself, were engaged in building magnificent churches, refectories, too, were raised with almost equal care and skill. Although none has survived to this day, because they were either destroyed or reconstructed like the one in Chilandar, what remains of the refectories at Djurdjevi Stupovi and Banjska speaks of the beauty of these structures in those days.[154]

Even though they were all decorated with frescoes, even less has remained of the paintings covering their walls. Archeological exploration has uncovered a large number of fragments of frescoes in the refectory of Banjska but they mostly belong to the purely ornamental decoration of the socle. The only significant remains of early XIV century wall paintings have been preserved in the refectory of Chilandar, on the wall above the apse, in a spot located above the XVII century ceiling construction. The top part of the triangular pediment is taken up by a half-figure of Christ holding an open book and surrounded by angels in medallions. Below him are three scenes related to the





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Chilandar, Refectory, *Hospitality of Abraham* (left part), around 1320

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Chilandar, Refectory, *Hospitality of Abraham* (right part), around 1320

righteous Abraham: the Welcoming of the Three Angels, the Hospitality of Abraham and the Sacrifice of Abraham. We have already come across these three scenes in this sequence (for example, in the altar of Gračanica). Moreover, their iconography is similar. A minor change in the standard iconography of these events is visible only in the central scene: instead of other food, Abraham and Sara offer bread to the angels and, probably, wine in order to underline the eucharistic symbolism of the composition. The meaning of these scenes is well known for they are the archetypes of Christ's sacrifice and the Eucharist which Christ established at the Last Supper. It should, however, be p ointed out that the choice of scenes was somewhat more liberal in refectories than in churches which resulted in a more conspicuous presence of local customs. Still, the eucharistic symbolism of eating was very common in the frescoes surrounding the apse. Judging by the preserved monuments, from the X century on the Last Supper was depicted quite often, whether in its standard form or

in its liturgical guise, as the Communion of the Apostles (only in Georgia it retreated to the lateral walls leaving the apse to the Deesis). The space around it could be occupied by scenes of evangelical miracles and sufferings. In the decoration of refectories, the most beloved Old Testament scene with this sort of symbolism was the Hospitality of Abraham. It appears in Udabno (X–XI century), Bertubani (1212/1213) and Kolagiri (second half of the XIII century) in Georgia, in the refectory of St. John's monastery on the island of Patmos (first half of the XIII century) and in Apollonia near Dyrrachium (around 1275). In the latter two cases we also find the Welcoming of the Three Angels, as in Chilandar, along with a series of evangelical and other themes (which may have been present in the refectory of Chilandar at one time), mostly with eucharistic messages.[155] Since the original wall paintings were covered with new frescoes during the XVII and XVIII centuries and, perhaps, because some parts of the old refectory of Chilandar were torn down, we are not able to develop further our comparison between the decoration of Chilandar and other Byzantine refectories.

[1] Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 168–169; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60.

[2] Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 44–47; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 213; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 90–93.

[3] The frescoes of Arilje have been catalogued and published several times: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 227–239; Petković, *Pregled*, 5–8; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 68–87; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 26–27, Plan 18–19, Taf. 143–158; S. Petković, *Arilje*, Belgrad 1965, pp. III–VII, Abb. 1–48; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 134; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 61; B. Živković, *Arilje*, Beograd 1970; M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*, Beograd 1982, 18–47, figs. 2–21.

[4] The XIV century frescoes from Žiča have been published and interpreted in several studies: Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 18–105; Petković, *Pregled*, 121–123; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 160–163; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–98; Mijović, *Žiča*, 124–199; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68–69; B. Todić, *Topografija žičkih fresaka*, Žiča – istorija i umetnost (pending publication).

[5] Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 121–126, figs. 70–75, with the best description and explanation of the programme of fresco decoration of Peć, including a bibliography of earlier works on these wall paintings.

[6] Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74; Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 50, 131.

[7] XIV century frescoes from the monastery of St. Prochor of Pčinja have recently been carefully studied, including the question of their relation with the later layer of wall paintings from 1488/9, Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 117–137.

[8] Babić, *Sušica*, 303–309.

[9] Cf. V. J. Djurić, *La peinture murale de l'Ecole de la Morava*, La peinture de l'Ecole de la Morava, Belgrade 1968, 36; M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989, 34–35, fig. 24. The meagre remains of frescoes in the altar space (a standing figure of a bishop with a closed book in the diaconicon apse and a part of an altar table in the calotte of the prothesis apse) can not even suggest the wealth of themes and their iconography which once existed in Banjska.

[10] On the better preserved frescoes of the Annunciation church of Chilandar and their iconography cf. Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 52–62.

[11] Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 49–68; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 106, 112–125; also Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–96; Hamann-MacLean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 29–30, Plan 23–25, Abb. 182–212. Drawings of all these frescoes were published by B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška. Les dessins de fresques*, Beograd 1991.

[12] The frescoes of Nagoričino have been catalogued and published in several instances: P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psača – Kalenić*, Beograd 1933, 1–49, pl. IX–XXXIII; Okunjev, *Staro Nagoričino*, 87–120; Petković, *Pregled*, 204–208; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 71–119; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 58–62; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 71–87, pls. I–XVII and figs. 8–103.

[13] The extensive programme of the frescoes from Gračanica has been communicated in several instances and in different ways, cf. Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 44–63b; II, 29–35, pl. LX–LXXXI; Petković, *Pregled*, 74–83; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 318–345, Plan 34–36; Mijović, *Menolog*, 285–307; Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–110, figs. 5–116. Drawings of all the frescoes from Milutin's time have been published by B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1989.

[14] The most complete list of frescoes in the katholikon of Chilandar was put together by Petković, *Pregled*, 338–340 Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 107–111, and they were best published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 59–80. The attention of the scholars was mostly focused on the cleaned frescoes: Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 71–83, fig. 17–31; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 81–84; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 31–41, fig. 1–10.

[15] Even before the publication of the latest monograph on this church (Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 61–191) its wall paintings were well known, and the themes carefully listed: V. R. Petković, *Manastir Studenica*, Beograd 1924, 59–80, figs. 71–108; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 36d–39c; II, 22–23, pl. XLII–XLVI; Petković, *Pregled*, 318–320; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 32–34, Plan 29–30a, Abb. 245–272; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 54–70.

[16] The church of St. Nikita does not have a monograph like some of the other endowments of king Milutin; for basic information about its frescoes cf. F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, Godišnjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta I (1930), 139–152; Petković, *Pregled*, 212–213; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 98–102; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 54–56 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70. Best reproductions published in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 31–53 and also: Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 33–36; II, pl. LVIII–LIX; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 221–244; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, pl. CIII–CXV.

[17] There is a monograph study on the wall paintings of this Thessaloniki church of king Milutin's by A. Tsitouridou, who catalogued the themes and explained the programme of decoration, cf. Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 63–206, πίν. 1–119; cf. also Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, πίν. 2–190.

[18] For the lack of a more complete monograph study of the wall paintings of this church, cf. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetoga Petra u Bijelom Polju*, 114–123; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 110–112; *Istorija Crne Gore*, I/1, 260–262; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74.

[19] The basic works on the decoration of domes in Byzantine churches and its meaning are O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, Boston 1955, 17–22; S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des coupoles dans les églises du monde byzantin et postbyzantin*, L'information d'histoire de l'art X/5 (1965), 185–199; O. Demus, *Probleme byzantinischer Kuppeldarstellungen*, CA XXV (1976), 101–108; N. Γκιολές, *Ο βυζαντινός τρούλλος και το εικονογραφικό του πρόγραμμα*, Αθήνα

1990. Cf. A. M. Lidov, *Obraz nebesnogo Ierusalima v vostočno-hristianskoj ikonografii,* Ierusalim v russkoj kul'ture, Moskva 1994, 15–33.

[20] Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 49–50. The author reminds us that this form of stressing the eternity of God is of Komnenian origin, because it appears in wall painting and book illumination in the XI and XII centuries; on the same problem Grabar, *Antiquité et Moyen âge*, I, 52–57.

[21] Petković, *Pregled*, 339; A. K. Ορλάνδος, *Η Παρηγορήτισσα της Άρτης*, Αθήνα 1963, πίν. 110–115.

[22] Todić, *Gračanica* 147–148, figs. 22–25; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p. The small domes of Nagoričino are also decorated with half-figures of the evangelists, but there are no representations of celestial powers below them, which seems more natural; only the pendentives of the north-west dome are decorated with images of the seraphim, Todić, *Nagoričino*, 78.

[23] For the Studenica church cf. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 66–68 (the author gives an apolcalyptic meaning to this representation which, however, is the result of a one-sided interpretation); on Ljeviška Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 118 (drawing); on Nagoričino Todić, *Nagoričino*, 94–95, fig. 35.

[24] Radojčić, *Portreti*, s. p. (the only colour plate); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 151, πίν. 58; Todić, *Gračanica,* 151–152, 170–173, fig. 31. On the meaning of the dark red and light blue light as a sign of divine energy cf. V. V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika,* Moskva 1977, 102–106.

[25] For basic information on the Celestial Liturgy see Stefanescu, *Liturgie dans l'art*, I, 64–77; H. J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie. Von Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt*, Freiburg im Bresgau 1964, 182–186; L. N. Grondijs, *Croyances, doctrines et iconographie de la liturgie céleste*, Akten des XI. intern. Byz. Kongresses (1958), München 1960, 159–199; S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes des coupoles*, 196–199; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 217–221; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 134–137; R. F. Taft, *Great Entrance*, Roma 1975, 178sq.

[26] Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 172, 205–206. The angels were represented with censers and offerings on their heads for the first time in the XI century in a composition of liturgical meaning in ms. Σταυροῦ 109 (A. Grabar, *Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures*, DOP 8, 1954, 163–199, in particular 174, 177–178).

[27] Representations of the Celestial Liturgy in the mentioned Serbian monuments have been carefully studied: Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 68–69; Todić, *Gračanica*, 139; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 95 (of course, according to the currently valid chronology, the representation from Studenica is always the first to be listed); only that from Chilandar, Petković, *Pregled*, 339, repainted in the XIX century, has not been studied so far. For the cited passage from the liturgy cf. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 369.

[28] Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 50 and drawing on page 118.

[29] Cf. Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 65; *Oeuvres complètes du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite*, Paris 1943, 200–202. – On the iconography of the evangelists writing their gospels cf. A. M. Friend, *The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts*, Art Studies 5 (1927), 115–147; 7 (1929), 1–29; G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, Wien 1979, 33–101.

[30] For mentioned representations cf. Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 65, fig 13; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 50, drawing on pp. 118–119; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 66–68, drawing on pg. 233 (with a different explanation); Todić, *Nagoričino*, 95–96 (drawing in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 123/3). On representations of Divine Wisdom in general J. Meyendorff, *L'iconographie de la Sagesse divine dans la tradition byzantine*, CA X (1959), 259–279; S. Radojčić, *Likovi inspirisanih*, Letopis Matice srpske 385/4 (1960), 293–301; A. Grabar, *Les images des poètes et des illustrations dans leurs oeuvres dans la peinture byzantine tardive*, Zograf 10 (1979), 13–16.

[31] Millet, *Athos*, pl. 8/2–5, 10/1, 11/1, 12/1–2, 13/1, 32/1–3; D. Milošević – J. Nešković, *Les "Tours de St. Georges" dans la vieux Ras*, Belgrade 1986, 60, fig. 38; B. Živković, *Arilje – raspored fresaka*, Beograd 1970, 6–7.

[32] On these frescoes related to the celebration of the Virgin in the Ohrid church cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Le lit de Salomon*, ZRVI VIII/l (1963), 77–82; A. Xyngopoulos, *Au sujet d'une fresque de l'église Saint Clément à Ochrid*, in ibid., 301–306; G. Babić, *L'image symbolique de la "porte fermé" à Saint Clément d'Ohrid*, Synthronon, Paris 1968, 145–151; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto* 69, 81–83; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 189–190; Orlova, *"Čto Ti prinesem, Hriste"*, 128–130. These frescoes were studied by other scholars as well, cf. C. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis*, Skopje 1990, 84–101, with a complete list of the frescoes in question.

[33] Cf. *The Kariye Djami*, I, 36–37, 49–59; W. Grape, *Zum Stil der Mosaiken in der Kilisse Camii in Istanbul*, Panthéon XXXII/1 (1974), 3; H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, Washington 1978, 107–111, fig. 108.

[34] Following the publication of two serious discourses by M. D. Taylor (*A Historiated Tree of Jesse*, DOP 34–35, 1980–1981, 125–176) and A. M. Nasta (*L'"Arbre de Jessé" dans la peinture sud-est européenne*, Revue des études Sud-est européennes XIV/1, 1976, 29–44) a complete study on the Tree of Jesse has been published recently: Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 48–59; for XIII century monuments cf. also D. Koco – P. Miljkovik-Pepek, *Manastir*, Skopje 1958, 73, 80; N. Μουτσόπουλος, *Καστοριά. Παναγία η Μαυριώτισσα*, Αθήνα 1967, 34, 53, πίν. 5, 35–37; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 117–118; B. Živković, *Sopoćani. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1984, 26; T. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Ένα εικαστική εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου: Οι εξωτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της Μαυριώτισσας στην Καστοριά*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/15 (1989–1990), 226–232, εικ. 1, 4–10.

[35] Okunev, *Aril'e*, 231–233; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 91–93; D. Medaković, *Predstave antičkih filosofa i sivila u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, ZRVI 6 (1960), 43–55; N. Davidović-Radovanović, *Sibila carica etiopska u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zbornik LU 9 (1973), 29–42; Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 50, 53, 56–57, figs. 14–16.

[36] Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 74, fig. 78; Mijović, *Žiča*, 198–199; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 74–76; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 116–118.

[37] For the Tree of Jesse in Bogorodica Ljeviška cf. the works listed in note 35 as well as the drawings of B. Živković (*Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 80–82); for Dečani V. R. Petković – Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, II, Beograd 1941, 51–53, t. CCLXIX–CCLXXI and V. Milanović, *Starozavetne teme i Loza Jesejeva*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, Beograd 1995, 219–239, fig. 7–18; for Mateič N. Okunjev, *Gradja za istoriju srpske umetnosti. 2. Crkva Svete Bogorodice – Mateič*, GSND VII–VIII (1929–1930), 109, fig. 20 and G. Millet – T. Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, IV, Paris 1969, pl. 54–55; for the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki cf. Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*, 148–175 and N. Dionisopulos, *Loza Jesejeva u Svetim apostolima u Solunu*, Zograf 21 (1990), 62–70.

[38] Frescoes of Jacob's sons from Bogorodica Ljeviška have been published only in the form of drawings (B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 14–15); in the Virgin Peribleptos they appear in medallions around the apse (Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 48) and as full figures in the south dome of the Chora (*Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 66–78), cf. also B. Todić, *A Note on the Beauteous Joseph in Late Byzantine Painting*, ΔΧΑΕ, 4/18 (1995), 89–96.

[39] Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 76–87, figs. 22–33.

[40] Todić, *Nagoričino*, 96–97. Emphasising David's place in the genealogy of Christ is of a considerably older date. On the well known miniature from Par. gr. 74 (XI century) with an extensive depiction of Christ's ancestors, an enthroned king David appears at the bottom of the representation surrounded by his descendants and prophets (cf. Sh. Tsuji, *The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74*, DOP 29, 1975, 197–202, fig. 15). Such a role of David's is going to be especially emphasised also in the Tree of Jesse, for example in Arilje.

[41] Oktoechos, eighth tone. Wednesday, at vespers, first song. The frescoes from Gračanica have been published only as drawings (B. Živković, *Gračanica*, s. p., with some incorrectly interpreted names). In the Chora, after Hosea we find the images of Jehonia and Salatail (*The Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 66–78), replaced in Gračanica by those of Joshua and the Beauteous Joseph. Incomplete genealogies, with omissions of some characters and additions of others which do not follow the right order were not exceptions but rather the rule in such representations in both Byzantine and Serbian churches.

[42] These Chilandar frescoes (all repainted in 1803) have not been published. Old Testament kings and patriarchs are mentioned in general by Petković, *Pregled*, 340 and Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111, as prophets and patriarchs.

[43] These Old Testament archetypes of the Virgin are mentioned at her feasts (Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 368; Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 73–75) and by numerous authors who wrote about the Virgin. On the prophets from Nagoričino cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 98, from Arilje B. Živković, *Arilje*, 6, from Petrova crkva Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 46, from Gračanica Todić, *Gračanica*, 127, from Chilandar Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, pl. CLXXIX–CLXXX.

[44] Most extensively on these representations in Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 28–29 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 98–100.

[45] Cf. *PG*, 97, col. 1096; Jean Damascène, *Homelies sur la Nativité et la Dormition*, Paris 1961, 104; Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne*, II, Paris 1970, 263–265; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 367; Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 92–94.

[46] Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 201; Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Sur l'incarnation du Verbe*, Paris 1973, 382, 390; cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 99.

[47] On representations of the Virgin as an image of the church in the apses of Byzantine churches: C. Cecchelli, *Mater Christi*, I, Roma 1946, 13–23, 304–305; Ch. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, Wiesbaden 1960, 102–108; A. Grabar, *Les vois de la création en iconographie chrétienne*, Paris 1979, 72–74.

[48] Cf. J. Popović, *Dogmatika pravoslavne crkve*, III, Beograd 1978, 260–261; Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 81. On her representations in art G. Galavaris, *The Representation of the Virgin and Child on a "Tokos" on Seals of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch*, ΔΧΑΕ IV/2 (1960–1961), 153–181.

[49] A. Grabar, *Sur les sources des peintres byzantins des XIIIe siècles*, CA XII (1962), 351–354; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 90.

[50] Todić, *Gračanica*, 151–152, figs. 31–32. Christ Emmanuel, depicted in a medallion, is found also in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, at the summit of the triumphal arch above the Virgin Platytera in the main apse (Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, fig. 15), at the spot occupied by the Mandelion in Dragutin's chapel, Sušica and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos.

[51] Mercenier, *La prière*, II/2, 20. Christ Emmanuel is shown this way in the 15th verse of the Akathistos in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 151–152, πίν. 58.

[52] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 385. The theme of the star is thoroughly developed by Romanos Melodos in the First Hymn to Nativity (Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, II, Paris 1965, 54–56); most extensively on the fresco from Gračanica in Todić, *Gračanica*, 151–152, and that from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 62-65.

[53] Cf. Skaballanovič, *Hristianskie prazdniki*, I, 39–40, 43, 45 et passim; Mercenier, *La prière*, 82, 349, 418 et passim.

[54] Petković, *Pregled*, 340; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 67, 77; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 122–123, fig. 5; B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81. At about the same time these scenes also appear in St. Sophia in Trebizond, the Protaton, the Virgin Peribleptos, the Chora, Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 32/2; D. T. Rice, *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond*, Edinburgh 1968, 149–151, fig. 112; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 51; *The Kariye Djami*, I, 224–225; II, pl. 228; IV, 334–336; Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*, 135–136, Abb. 86.

[55] Petković, *Pregled*, 340; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111. Isaiah's vision was interpreted as a prototype of the Virgin's conception: the spoon (or the pliers) is the Virgin's womb, the live coals are Christ, Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*,

69–70, cf. also Todić, *Nagoričino*, 106. Isaiah's vision from Ljeviška has been published as a drawing, B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 9.

56 Petković, *Pregled*, 340; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111, 123; Todić, *Gračanica*, 145–146. Most thoroughly on this composition in Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 135 and J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5 (1974), 38–42, and on its liturgical sources in Skaballanovič, *Hristianskie prazdniki*, I, 110; III, 89; IV, 115; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 220, 367; II/2, 23.

57 PG, 63, 186. The fresco from Chilandar was identified by V. R. Petković (*Pregled*, 140) and G. Babić (*Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111) as the Burning Bush.

58 Cf. Petković, *Pregled*, 140; Todić, *Gračanica*, 146 (in the form of drawing this fresco was published by B. Živković, *Gračanica*, s. p.). The scene has been best studied by Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 147–150, and its use in liturgical texts best explained by Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 68–69.

59 Petković, *Pregled*, 79, 81, 340; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 123–124; Todić, *Gračanica*, 145. As an archetype of the Virgin this scene appears in the narthex of the Peribleptos in Ohrid, Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 13/2; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 51. On the iconography of this theme cf. V. R. Petković, *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, Zbornik u čast Bogdana Popovića, Beograd 1929, 317–321; Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 139–142; S. Radojčić, *La table de la Sagesse dans la littérature et de l'art serbes depuis la début du XIIIe jusqu'au début du XIVe siècle*, ZRVI 16 (1975), 215–224; *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 338–343; Δ. Ι. Πάλλας, *Ο Χριστός ως η Θεία Σοφία. Η εικονογραφική περιπέτεια μίας θεολογικής 'εννοιας*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/15 (1991), 131–138.

60 Cf. Skaballanovič, *Hristianskie prazdniki*, I, 45; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 82, 419; V. R. Petković, *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, 321, note 1.

61 More extensively on all this in Todić, *Gračanica*, 142–143, fig. 27, while the long lasting interest of M. Gligorijević-Maksimović for this composition was recently rounded off in her text *Skinija u Dečanima – poreklo i razvoj ikonografske teme*, Dečani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XIVe siècle, Beograd 1989, 319–334. With the same double meaning the Old Testament tabernacle was also represented around this time in the Protaton on Mount Athos and the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 32/3; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 51.

62 Todić, *Gračanica*, 146 (schematic representation in B. Živković, *Gračanica*, s. p.); Τσιτουρίδου, *'Αγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 157–159, πίν. 61–62. This theme was often painted during the XIV century, on its iconography cf. S. Der Nersessian in: *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 336–338.

63 On this theme in Prizren cf. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 77–78; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 118–119, and the most complete study on its iconography is that by V. Milanović, *"Proroci su te nagovestili" u Peći*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, Beograd 1991, 409–423 (with fine observations regarding the example from Bogorodica Ljeviška).

64 Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφιες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, 53–59; Τσιτουρίδου, *'Αγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 141–156, πίν. 53–59. On the Akathistos from the Elasson church cf. E. C. Constantinides, *The Question of the Date and Origin of the Earliest Akathistos Cycles in Byzantine Monumental Painting in the Light of the Akathistos of the Olympiotissa at Elasson*, XVI. Int. Byzantinistenkongress, Akten II/5, Wien 1982, 503–505; ead., *The Wall Paintings of the Panaghia Olympiotissa*, I, Athens 1992, 134–177. The Akathistos of the Virgin has been thoroughly studied in numerous instances, the last monograph on the subject has been published recently: A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bildzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1989 (about the example from Hagios Nikolaos on pp. 9–10, 19–26, 31–34).

65 In greater detail on the formation of certain scenes of the Akathistos T. Velmans, *Création et structure du cycle iconographique de l'Acathiste*, Actes du XIVe Congr. int. des ét. byz., III, Bucarest 1976, 469–473. The liturgical use of the Akathistos is also attested by the fact that it is sung on matins of the Saturday of the fifth week of Lent, i.e. during the vigil of the previous day, cf. O. Welesz, *The Akathistos. A Study in Byzantine Hymnography*, DOP 9–10 (1956), 143–144; N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Icons in the Liturgy*, DOP 45 (1991), 45–57.

66 However, differences do exist, reflected in their representations, so that we cite the texts of both hymns: "What shall we offer Thee, O Christ, who for our sakes hast appeared on earth as man? Every creature made by Thee offers Thee thanks. The angels offer Thee a hymn; the heavens a star; the Magi, gifts; the shepherds, their wonder; the earth, its cave; the wilderness, the manger; and we offer Thee a Virgin Mother" (Damascene's sticheron), "Today the Virgin gives birth to Him who is above all being, and the earth offers a cave to Him whom no man can approach. Angels with shepherds give glory, and Magi journey with a star. For unto us is born a young Child, the pre-eternal God." (Anatolios's sticheron).

67 Mijović, *Žiča*, 190–198; Djurić, *Portrety*, 244–255; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 189–190; N. K. Moran, *Muzički gestovi u vizantijskom slikarstvu poznog srednjeg veka*, Zograf 14 (1983), 73; id., *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*, Leiden 1986, 125; Μ. Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, *Η ερμηνεία μιάς τοιχογραφίας στη Μονή της Βλαχέρνας κοντά στην 'Αρτα*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/14 (1988), 301–305; Orlova, *"Čto Ti prinesem, Hriste"*, 127–140.

68 Along with many other authors, the apocryphal text has been published by E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protoévangile de Jacques*, Bruxelles 1961. Based on a large number of monuments, the iconography of the cycle has been studied by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964.

69 Apart from being mentioned in the book written by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne (*Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, 45–47, 103, 106, 109, 111 et passim), all these cycles from Serbian churches have been described, at times even more carefully studied, in monographs dedicated to the various monuments: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 230, 247, 252; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Babić, *Sušica*, 304, 308, 314–332; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 170–179; Todić, *Gračanica*, 114–116; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 73–74, 92–93 (also Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 101–110). A cycle of the

Virgin was also painted in the north parekklesion in Žiča but we do not know how extensive it was because it no longer exists. Petković (*Žiča*, 70–71) was still able to see and describe the remains of the Blessings of the Three Priests and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (a drawing of the latter scene is published by Mijović, *Žiča*, 252).

[70] About these, so far either partly or completely cleaned frescoes from Chilandar cf. Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 74–75, fig. 25–29; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 33, fig. 1. Only these two scenes from the cycle of the Virgin appear in the Protaton (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 28–29; Δ. Καλομοιράκης, *Ερμηνευτικές παρατηρήσεις στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του Πρωτάτου*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/15, 1991, 206) and they are located in the same spot as in Chilandar. The cycle of the Virgin was also painted in the lateral conchs of the Vatopedi katholikon (Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 408) so that we can assume that such a disposition of the entire cycle or just some of its scenes (the Birth of the Virgin and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple) was a local Athonite custom.

[71] Babić, Sušica, 308; *The Kariye Djami*, I, pl. 88, 94.

[72] *The Kariye Djami*, I, pl. 100; IV, 187–192; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, 202. For the apocryphal text related to these two scenes cf. E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protoévangile de Jacques*, 113–121.

[73] Traces of the Great Feasts are mentioned by all the authors who wrote about the frescoes of Petrova crkva after their discovery in 1956; somewhat more on them in Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 47. The appearance of the initials of the apostles' names above their heads in the Dormition is also old fashioned.

[74] A description of the Great Feasts from Arilje in Okunev, *Aril'e*, 229–230, 245, 248; they are published by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 71–75, 78/1; for their iconography and similarity with older monuments cf. Millet, *Recherches*, 132–133, 229, 271 and Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 148–149. The cross in the Jordan appears on representations from the XI–XII centuries (Millet, *Recherches*, fig. 131, 136, 140, 141, 180), and, according to Millet, it represents a commemoration of the custom of immersing a cross during the rite of christening of the people on the Jordan of which we learn from testimonies dating as far back as the VI century (ibid., 206); an explanation could, however, be sought in the rite of blessing of the water during the feast of Epiphany, when the priest imerses a cross in the water and speaks of Christ who cleared away our sins and blessed the water with his baptism (Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 284–285). In the XIV century the cross is no longer represented in the Jordan. Under a strong influence of church services, Christ is shown trampling on snakes, for example in St. Nikita near Skoplje (Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, pl. CVII). Apostles riding on clouds are shown in the Dormition since the XI century, a feature often repeated in Byzantine and, of course, Serbian art of king Milutin's age.

[75] Millet, *Athos*, pl. 85/1 (in the meantime the fresco from Vatopedi has been cleaned: Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 408); Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 27/1; Mijović, *Žiča*, 161; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, fig. 40; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 162, 240. This theme was most thoroughly studied by A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Η πτερωτή ψυχή της Θεοτόκου*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/6 (1972), 1–12. On the popularity of the idea of the winged soul among the Byzantines cf. an epigram by St. Gregory the Theologian, *Anthologie grecque, I. Anthologie palatine, t. VI (livre VIII)*. Texte établi et traduit par P. Waltz, Paris 1960, 45. As a result of copying of older models, known already to Komnenian art, holy poets were painted (or repainted at the beginning of the XIV century) in the west bay of Žiča, perhaps related to the Dormition.

[76] Mijović, *Žiča*, 156. Sources on the Assumption of the Virgin: C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypsis apocriphae*, Leipzig 1866, 113–123; M. Jugie, *La Mort et l'Assomption da la Sainte Vierge*, Città del Vaticano 1944, 119, 123. Plausible explanations of the theme in Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 154–156 and C. D. Kalokyris, *La Dormition et l'"Assomption" de la Théotokos dans l'art de l'église orthodoxe*, Αριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Επετηρίς Θεολογικής Σχολής 19 (1974), 133–143. The Virgin with her hands crossed over, as she is represented in Žiča, appears also in an Assumption scene painted on a Russian icon of the Dormition, now in the Tretyakov Gallery, *Gosudarstvennaja Tret'yakovskaja galereja. Katalog sobranija*, I, Moskva 1995, 57–59.

[77] Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 353. On the fresco from Žiča cf. Mijović, *Žiča*, 142–144; on that from Kastoria T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria. Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi*, Uppsala 1979, 41–44, pl. 4.

[78] Hamman-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 281; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 256, 258, 264.

[79] The last to write about this representation from Staro Nagoričino which has drawn the attention of numerous scholars was Todić, *Nagoričino*, 103–107, figs. 26–32, including a list of earlier works. The homily of Germanos II has been published by A. Wenger, *Un témoin de l'Assomption – une homélie attribuée à saint Germain de Constantinople*, REB XVI (1958), 43–58. For liturgical comparisons of the Virgin with the objects represented by the prophets in Nagoričino cf. Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 68–72, 78–79, 86, 94–95.

[80] The most complete analysis of the Nativity from Studenica in Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 138–143, fig. 93; the Protaton fresco has been published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 10/2. On the tender embrace of the Virgin and Christ on icons G. Babić, *Epiteti Bogorodice koju dete grli*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 261–274; on the similarity of the Nativity and the Anapeson Todić, *Anapeson*, 160–162, and on the connection between the Nativity and the Lamentation H. Maguire, *The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art*, DOP 31 (1977), 162 and id., *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton 1981, 99–101.

[81] Because of its many novelties and an interesting iconography, the Dormition from Studenica has drawn the attention of many scholars: Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 151–153; Radojčić, *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 301–312 et passim; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 202–204; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 162–167 (with the most extensive list of sources); for the example of holy poets from Bačkovo cf. E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica*, Sofia 1977, 83–88.

[82] The Prostagma of emperor Andronikos has been published several times, cf., for example, PG, t. 161, col. 1095–1108; for the Dormition in the mentioned churches Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 110–117; Dufrenne, *Mistra*, pl.18; Mijović, *Žiča*, 157–158 and plates on pp. 32–34, 156, 159–165; A. N. Ovčinnikov, *Suzdal'skie Zlatye vrata*, Moskva 1978, drawings 40–51; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52, 56, 71–72; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 162–166; Todić, *Gračanica*, 152–155; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 102–107, figs. 26–30.

[83] Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 45–47. In greater detail on the Dormition from Gračanica: Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 157–159; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 192–193 et passim; Todić, *Gračanica*, 152–155. On the Dormition from the Virgin Peribleptos Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 110–117.

[84] The most thorough text on the Descent into Hades from Gračanica is that by J. Radovanović, *Jedinstvene predstave Vaskrsenja Hristovog u srpskom slikarstvu XIV veka*, Zograf 8 (1977), 34–43 (= *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 89–103); cf. also Todić, *Gračanica*, 156–158; on representations of similar iconography with fine explanations E. Smirnova, *Une icône de la Descente aux Limbes d'une rare iconographie*, Zograf 21 (1992), 4–59 and E. Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή, *Κείμενο και εικόνα. Η μικρογραφία στον κώδικα Par. gr. 550*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/17 (1994), 381–385.

[85] Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 58/b; II, pl. LXVIII; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 328; Babić, *Sušica*, 303–304, fig. 2; *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 260–261, figs. 94, 98 (P. Mijović); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, πίν. 20; Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 127; Todić, *Gračanica*, figs. 37–38, 49–50. On the iconography of these scenes and their interpretation cf. Millet, *Recherches*, 90–91, 231, 244–254, 262–270; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 112, 117–118; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 88–89; Todić, *Gračanica*, 116–117. As an example of illustrated gospels cf. T. Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. VI. 23*, Paris 1971, with a great number of examples.

[86] There are several learned discourses on these frescoes from the church of Sts. Peter and Paul: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 110–112; *Istorija Crne Gore*, I/1, 261–262; K. Wessel, *Das Himelfartsbild von Sveti Petar in Bijelo Polje*, JÖB 21 (1972); Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, 265; P. Simić, *Freska Vaskrsenja Hristovog u Bijelom Polju i njena liturgijska podloga*, Zograf 6 (1975), 21–23; Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 103–106. On the sermon of John the Prodromos in Hades C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 392–393; for the angels in the Transfiguration cf. *Zbornik crkvenih bogosluženih pesama, psalama i molitava*, Beograd 1971, 347; for the quoted passage from the charter of Gračanica: Todić, *Gračanica*, 64 (the representation of the Transfiguration in this church, fig. 37).

[87] On the relation between liturgical readings and the order of the scenes cf. Millet, *Recherches*, 34–35 and N. Wibiral, *Zur Bildredaktion im Neuen Testament*, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte XXV (Festschrift für Otto Demus und Otto Pächt) (1972), 9–28 as well as the best studies of this cycle: *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 245–302; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as Ministrant of Christ in a Palaeologan Program of 1303*, DOP 32 (1978), 197–216.

[88] Mercenier, *La prière*, II/2, 123–129; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 53, 120.

[89] Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 128–129; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–110, πίν. 32.

[90] Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 82/3–4, 125/4; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 59; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 73, 75, 108, figs. 40–41, 60.

[91] Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 49/a, b, 59; II, pl. LXVIII, LXI, LXIII, LXXXI; Todić, *Gračanica*, 82, 96–97, 108–109, 118–121, 158–159, 166–167, figs. 49–60; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p.

[92] Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 37/1–2, 38, 41; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 55.

[93] Millet, *Athos*, pl. 64/2, 75/2, 77; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180; Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 86; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 33–34, fig. 2–3.

[94] On the Trebizond church cf. D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond*, Edinburgh 1968, 129–133, 137–142; on the churches from Mistra: G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris 1910, pl. 71–73/1–2, 75/4, 76–77/1, 78, 98 and Dufrenne, *Mistra*, 7, 58; on the church of the Chora monastery *The Kariye Djami*, I, 108–141; II, pl. 117–141; on the parekklesion of St. Euthymios in the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki: Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Αθήνα 1952, 217–218 and Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as Ministrant of Christ in a Paleologan Program of 1300*, 176–216; on St. Catherine Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 207. The mosaics of Monreale have been studied by O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London 1949, 120, 134, and the frescoes from Mirož by M. N. Soboleva, *Stenopis' Spaso-Preobraženskogo sobora Mirožskogo monastyrja v Pskove*, Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, Moskva 1968, 11–13.

[95] On the relation of representations of Christ's Passion and liturgy cf. D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus – das Bild*, München 1965, 12–51; H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, Berlin 1981, 154–160; Dufrenne, *Problèmes iconographiques*, 32. On the representation of the entire cycle or particular scenes in the narthex cf. S. Tomeković, *Contribution à l'étude du programme des églises monastiques (XIe–première moitié du XIIIe s.)*, Byzantion LVIII 1988, 140–154.

[96] Millet, *Athos*, pl. 68/l; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52, pl. XVI; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–110, πίν. 32; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 111, fig. 91; Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 128.

[97] Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, pl. 42/3, 85/1. This scene is not often represented; slightly earlier it was also singled out by the artists working in the Protaton and the narthex of Vatopedi (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 20/1, 22/1; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, fig. 121; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 415, εικ. 180, 184).

98 Frescoes related to Passion lections in Serbian churches have mostly been published in a plausible manner: Millet, *Athos*, pl. 64/2, 67/1 68/1, 69/1 70–72, 73/1–2 (for Chilandar); Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 49b, 52a, 58a; II, pl. LXII, XIV, LXVI; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 76–77 (for Arilje); III, pl. 42/2–4, 43–44, 45/1 (for St. Nikita), pl. 83–94 (for Nagoričino); R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Pećkoj patrijaršiji*, Beograd 1973, figs. 40–57 (for Peć); Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 338–344; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, t. XVI–XXI (for the Prizren church); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, πίν. 32–44 (for Hagios Nikolaos in Thessaloniki); B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p. (for Gračanica).

99 The iconography of all scenes has been meticulously studied, including some of our examples, by Millet, *Recherches*, 285–516. More detailed information about them can also be found in the monogarphs on the various monuments: Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52–53; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–127; Todić, *Gračanica*, 121–123; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 110–113.

100 Apart from the fundamental study by Millet (cf. previous note), on the cycle in Milutin's churches or some of its representations cf. S. Radojčić, *Ruganje Hristu na fresci u Starom Nagoričinu*, Narodna starina XIV (1939), 15–32; Dufrenne, *Problèmes iconographiques*, 32; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 80–96; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74–75, 103; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 101; S. Radojčić, *Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka*, ZRVI 13 (1971), 293–312; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–127; Todić, *Gračanica*, 121–123; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 121–123; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 110–113.

101 Mercenier, *La prière*, II/2, 137. On Judas and his halo in the Last Supper from the Peribleptos cf. Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 91, fig. 32. In the Protaton, only Judas is represented without a halo in this composition, Millet, *Athos*, pl. 22/2.

102 Millet, *Recherches*, 498–508; Dufrenne, *Problèmes iconographiques*, 32. Women lamenting over Christ, scratching their faces, pulling thier hair or raising their arms was a common phenomenon in the ritual of lamentation over the deceased in Byzantium, Ph. Koukoulès, *Sur les coutumes des Byzantins relatives à la mort*, Actes du IVe int. des ét. byz., Athènes 1930, 238–241.

103 Todić, *Anapeson*, 134–165. Photographs of the frescoes from St. Nikita and Chilandar are published by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 49/2 and Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, fig. 18 (only the head of Christ). The association of the Anapeson with Passion lections is most conspicuous in the churches of Berende and Zrze, dating from around the middle of the XIV century, where the Anapeson is painted after the scene in which Joseph asks Pilate to bury the body of Christ (Zrze), i.e. after the Entombment (Berende), cf. E. Bakalova, *Stenopisite na c'rkvata pri selo Berende*, Sofia 1976, 29–31, fig. 19; Z. Ivković, *Živopis iz XIV veka u manastiru Zrze*, Zograf 11 (1980), 74, fig. 6.

104 For Christ's Resurrection appearances in Milutin's churches cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 62/4, 63/1, 3; 73/1, 3; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 44c, 48a–b, 51a–b; II, pl. LXXVIII–LXXIX; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 34/1–3, 45/2, 95/1–2, 96/1–2, 97/1–2, 98/1–2, 4; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52, 56, fig. 13–14, drawings 11–12 and on pp. 121–123; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 106-108, πίν. 31; Todić, *Gračanica*, 123–124, pl. VI, figs. 43–44; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, passim; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 108–110.

105 PG, t. 46, col. 633; t. 132, col. 621; N. Pokrovskij, *Evangelie v pamjatnikah ikonografii preimušćestvenno vizantijskih i russkih*, St. Peterburg 1892, p. XXXVIII, note. 5; Millet, *Recherches*, 541–542; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 109–110; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, πίν. 202. Later on, also in the XIV century, St. Gregorios Palamas was going to dedicate a special homily to the Virgin who was the first to see the resurrected Son, PG, t. 151, col. 236–248.

106 Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, pl. XII; the Chiladar fresco has not yet been published or mentioned in existing bibliography. For the Protaton cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 5/2; Δ. Καλο–μοιράκης, *Ερμηνευτικές παρατηρήσεις στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του Πρωτάτου*, 208–209; for the Virgin Peribleptos Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 50, sch. III. On the iconography of Christ the Priest D. Ajnalov, *Novyj ikonografičeskij obraz Hrista*, SK, II (1928), 19–23; A. M. Lidov, *Christ as the Priest in Byzantine Church Decoration of the 11th and 12th Centuries*, XVIII Congrès int. d'ét. byz. Résumés des communications, Moscou 1991, 659–660; id., *Hristos-svjaščennik v ikonografičeskih programmah XI-XII vekov*, VV 55 (1994), 187–192.

107 For Ljeviška cf. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, drawing on page 121 and B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška. Les dessins des fresques*, 39; for Staro Nagoričino Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 96/1–2 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 110, figs. 61–62; for St. Sophia at Trebizond, D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond*, 125–126, pl. 48/A, fig. 88; for Gračanica, Todić, *Gračanica*, 124, fig. 44 and B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p. The fresco from St. Nikita, quite badly damaged, has not been identified or published to date.

108 The Chilandar fresco has been published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 62/4, but identified curiously as Calling of Matthew and Mission of the Apostles, while N. Gkioles, the author of the fine study on the Mission of the Apostles (*"Πορευθέντες..." – εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις*, Δίπτυχα 1, 1979, 121, σημ. 50), did not notice its meaning; Petković (*Pregled*, 339), probably adhering to Millet, names this scene in the same manner as that author. On the fresco from Timotesubani cf. E. L. Privalova, *Rospis' Timotesubani*, Tbilisi 1980, 40–47; on that from Kokar Kilise N. – M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres du Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, 128–138, pl. 63–64. On the scroll and its meaning cf. K. Wessel, *"Buchrolle"* in: Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, I/5, Stuttgart 1965, col. 784–795. Cf. also B. Todić, *Predstava Hrista s apostolima na zapadnom portalu Studenice*, Saopštenja XXVI (1994), 13–22.

109 Okunev, *Aril'e*, 228; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, pl. IX; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 114, pls. VIII–IX; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 73-75, πίν. 12–13; Todić, *Gračanica*, 113, pl. II; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 90–91, figs. 92–94. On the iconography of the Communion and its meaning: Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 184–196; A. M. Lidov, *Shizma i vizantijskaja hramovaja dekoracija*, Vostočnohristianskij hram. Liturgija i iskusstvo, St.

Peterburg 1994, 17–27. On Christ the Archpriest: V. J. Djurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija,* Manastir Ravanica – spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici, Beograd 1981, 53–56; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 214–221; A. M. Lidov, *Hristos-svjaščennik v ikonografičeskih programmah XI–XII vekov*, 187–192. On the appearance of Judas in this composition: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 228–229; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 88–93; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 114–115.

110 The composition of Celebration of Holy Liturgy has been studied quite thoroughly in monographs of the various monuments: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 229, 244–245; Mijović, *Žiča*, 129–130; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, pls. V–VIII, figs. 116–117 (drawings); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 66–72, πίν. 3–8; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 114–131, figs. 73–78; Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–81, 140–141, fig. 33; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 91, 126, figs. 95–98. The most comprehensive text on this composition is that by G. Babić, *Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XIIe siècle*, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 2 (1968), 368–386, significant additional information in: Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 198–214; R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, Roma 1975; A. M. Lidov, *Shizma i vizantijskaja hramovaja dekoracija*, 19–20. On the inscriptions upon the bishops' scrolls Ch. Walter – G. Babić, *The Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration*, REB XXXXIV (1976), 369–380.

111 Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 217, πίν. 108; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 73, fig. 83 (legend switched with that of pl. 85). On painted crosses of this type cf. D. Talbot Rice, *The Leaved Cross*, BS 11 (1950), 72–81; J. Fleming, *Kreuz und Pflanzenornament*, BS 30 (1969), 88–115; Babić, *Les croix*, 1–13.

112 All mentioned Old Testament scenes from the sanctuary and the south parekklesion of Gračanica are clearly the archetypes of the Virgin, the New Testament church and the Eucharist, Todić, *Gračanica*, 113, 133, 141–148 (there also on the other Old Testament scenes in the church, also related to the liturgy).

113 Millet, *Athos*, pl. 79; Okunev, *Aril'e*, 231, 250; Petković, *Pregled*, 7, 340; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 67, 77, 139 (drawing); Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 106, 111, 112, 122–123; on the scene of Wisdom Hath Builded Her House from Chilandar and its relation to the portraits of ktetors cf. Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 112–116, and on the Teaching of St. John Chrysostomos in the same church A. Xyngopoulos, *Restitution et interpretation d'une fresque de Chilandar*, Hilandarski zbornik 2 (1971), 93–97.

114 Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 53a, 54b, 56b, 63a–b; II, pl. LX; Todić, *Gračanica*, 141–146; the disposition and relevant schematic presentation of the compositions in B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p.; on the iconography of these paintings from Gračanica and similar representations in Byzantine and Serbian art cf. Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 63, 135–142, 145–147, 157–160; N. Beljaev, *La figuration de "L'Arche d'Aliance" dans la peinture balkanique du XIVe siècle*, L'art byzantin chez les Slaves, I/2, Paris 1930, 315–324; N. M. Malickij, *K istorii kompozicii vethozavetnoj Troicy*, SK II (1928), 33–45; V. R. Petković, *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, 317–321; S. Radojčić, *La table de la Sagesse dans la littérature et de l'art serbes depuis la début du XIIIe jusqu'au début du XIVe siècles*, ZRVI 16 (1975), 215–224; J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5 (1974), 98–42; M. Gligorijević-Maksimović, *Skinija u Dečanima – poreklo i razvoj ikonografske teme*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, Belgrade 1995, 319–334.

115 Cf. Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 38b, 39a, 55a, 56a; II, 22, 34, pl. XLII/1, XLIV–XLVI, LXX; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 170, 175, 237; Todić, *Gračanica*, 114–116, 150; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p.

116 About these frescoes from Žiča cf. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 46; Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIIIe siècle*, 162–163; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68–69; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava. Histoire et tradition, Beograd 1979, 252; Mijović, *Žiča*, 134–168; B. Todić, *Ikonografska istraživanja žičkih fresaka XIII veka*, Saopštenja XXII–XXIII (1990–1991), 26–34; Todić, *Sionskaja cerkov'*, 34–36. The Mission of the Apostles no longer exists, the scene is best described by Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 51–52, although wrongly identified, and its remains are recorded in drawing by M. Valtrović (cf. *Mihailo Valtrović i Dragutin Milutinović kao istraživači srpskih starina*, Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva, Beograd 1978, 198). On the Zion church A. Heisenberg, *Ikonographische Studien*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissensch., Philos.-philol. Klasse (1921), München 1922, 94–99; M. Vincent – F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II/3, Paris 1922, 421–459, with an excellent choice of sources, pp. 472–481. On the frescoes from the church of the Holy Apostles in Peć cf. B. Todić, *Najstarije zidno slikarstvo u Sv. apostolima u Peći*, Zbornik LU 18 (1982), 19–38; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 48–51. The "Zion" feasts in Žiča were not of an illustrative nature but were rather in the function of representing the essential New Church as attested also by the omission of other events traditionally associated with Zion.

117 Nikodim's prologue to the Typikon from 1319 has been published several times (cf. Dj. Daničić, *Rukopis arhiepiskopa Nikodima*, Glasnik DSS 11, 1859, 189–193; *SSZN*, I, 22–24; L. Mirković, *Tipik arhiepiskopa Nikodima*, Bogoslovlje XVI/2, 1957, 13–15) and interpreted, in particular the passages which are also the subject of our discussion. Cf. the works of S. Radojčić, V. J. Djurić and B. Todić from the previous note, as well as R. M. Grujić, *Palestinski uticaji na sv. Savu pri reformisanju monaškog života i bogoslužbenih odnosa u Srbiji*, Svetosavski zbornik 1, Beograd 1936, 291–293 and V. Korać, *Sveti Sava i program raškog hrama*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava. Histoire et tradition, 242.

118 Todić, *Gračanica*, fig. 44; Todić, *Nagoričino*, figs. 48, 71, 80. The Zion church received its basilical form in the VII century, M. Vincent – F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, 455–459. The appearance of the resurrected Christ before the apostles on Zion is mentioned in numerous texts, whether in general or just as a list of events; the event with the apostles offering Christ a fish is associated with Zion by Hesychios of Jerusalem, PG, t. 93, col. 1445.

119 Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 71, πίν. 5–6. For the mentioned scene from Melnik cf. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Παρατήρησις εις τας τοιχογραφίας του Αγ. Νικολάου Μελενίκου*, Επιστημονική επετηρίς της Φιλοσ. Σχολής Θεσσαλονίκης 10 (1950), 115–128. L. Mavrodinova, *C'rkvata*

Sveti Nikola pri Melnik, Sofija 1975, 14–21; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 132–133; Todić, *Sionskaja cerkov'*, 36–37. On the legend that these first bishops of Jerusalem resided in the Zion church cf. M. Vincent – F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, 449, 476, 477 and N. D. Uspenskij, *Vizantijskaja liturgija*, Bogoslovskie trudy 23 (1982), 5–6, 8 (with sources and bibliography).

120 The lack of more comprehensive studies on the decoration of nartheces represents a great lacuna in the historiography of Byzantine and Serbian medieval art. Apart from general works and those focused on architecture, cf. Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 105–125; S. Tomeković, *Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XIe – première moitié du XIIIe s.)*, Byzantion LVIII/1 (1988), 140–141; B. Todić, *L'influence de la liturgie sur la décoration peinte du narthex de Sopoćani*, Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, Moskva 1997, 43–58.

121 Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137. On the portraits from the entrance to Studenica monastery V. J. Djurić, *Portreti na kapiji Studenice*, Zbornik Svetozara Radojčića, Beograd 1969, 105–111. About the emphasis on brotherly love and cooperation with the archbishop during the raising of churches Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 173. In discussing the programme of fresco decoration of Dragutin's chapel, Gordana Babić has long since noticed that it is much more similar to that of nartheces than to that typical of parekklesia, Babić, *Les chapelles*, 169.

122 On the portraits of historical personages and the council of Nemanja cf. the chapter entitled "The Image of Serbian History" in this book, on Ecumenical Councils Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 109–110 (for Arilje), on the frescoes from the narthex of Sopoćani V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd 1991, 43–51; B. Todić, *L'influence de la liturgie sur la décoration peinte du narthex de Sopoćani*, 52–53.

123 Okunev, *Aril'e*, 251–252, pl. XII/4; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (III)*, 107. Services for the dead including the censing of the graves in the church were performed on the second week before Lent, A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskih rukopisej*, I, *Τυπικά*, 1, Kiev 1895, 503–504; cf. also Petković, *Žiča*, 173–187; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 168.

124 The most comprehensive texts on these personifications from the Prizren church are Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 93; I. Djordjević, *Stari i Novi zavet na ulazu u Bogorodicu Ljevišku*, Zbornik LU 9 (1973), 15–26; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 74 and note 64.

125 Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 93, 95; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 66–67, 74–78; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 116–123, 124. On the Tree of Jesse Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 50 et passim; cf. also our notes 34 and 37. On the composition of "The Prophets From Above" G. Babić, *L'image symbolique de la "Porte Fermée" à Saint-Clément d'Ohrid*, Synthronon, Paris 1968, 150; V. Milanović, *"Proroci su te nagovestili" u Peći*, 409–423.

126 Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 93–94; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 79–80; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112–113. For the example from the Chora cf. *The Kariye Djami*, I, 110–117; II, pls. 211–227.

127 Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 92–93; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112. Two significant studies on the Last Judgement include a great number of examples and an interpretation of this theme: N. V. Pokrovskij, *Strašnyj sud v pamjatnikah vizantijskogo i russkogo iskusstva*, off-print from Trudy arheologičeskogo s'ezda v Odesse, III, Odessa 1887 and B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausende Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtbildes*, Wien 1966. On the sinners represented in this composition M. Garidis, *Les punitions collectives dans le Jugement dernier (du XIIe au XIVe siècle)*, Zbornik LU 18 (1982), 1–17.

128 On the portraits of bishops of Prizren, Serbian archbishops and the Nemanjids in Bogorodica Ljeviška cf. the chapter of this book entitled "The Image of Serbian History". In Serbian art, the text written on the gospel in Christ's hands usually appears on representations related to bishops, cf. Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 216 (and note 47); V. J. Djurić, *Ikona o hirotoniji gračaničkog mitropolita Nikanora*, Zbornik LU 27–28 (1991–1992), 306–308.

129 On these frescoes cf. Petković, *Žiča (IV)*, 78–79, as well as Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 97; Mijović, *Žiča*, 198–199; Mijović, *Menolog*, 13; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112–113; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, Belgrade 1988, 20–21.

130 Along with the other mentioned examples of representations of apostle Peter with the church, the fresco from Žiča has long since drawn the attention of scholars: F. Grivec, *Na sem Petre*, Slovo 4–5 (1955), 37–45; id. *Ohridska slika Na sem Petre*, Slovo 9–10 (1960), 177–181; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 74–75; Ch. Walter, *The Triumph of Saint Peter in the Church of Saint Clement at Ohrid and the Iconography of the Triumph of the Martyrs*, Zograf 5 (1974), 30–34. A great number of epithets of Peter and Paul as well as verses in their honour has been collected by D. T. Strotmann, *Les coryphées Pierre et Paul et les autres apôtres*, Irénikon XXXVI (1963), 164–176, also the source of our citation.

131 This composition from Žiča is the subject of a special study by Z. Gavrilović, *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Painted Programme of Žiča Vestibule*, JÖB 32/5 (1985), 185–193; cf. also Mijović, *Žiča*, 187–190. On the iconography of the theme cf. also the works of O. Demus in DOP 14 (1960), 89–119 and T. Velmans in Zograf 14 (1983), 40–51.

132 This fresco from Žiča, which can certainly be regarded as an iconographic form of the theme "What shall we offer you, Christ", has been the subject of scholarly interest in several instances, cf. note 61 in the chapter entitled "The Image of Serbian History" and note 67 of this chapter.

133 The basic study on painted menologia is that by Mijović, *Menolog* (on the example from Nagoričino 7–11, 35–39, 71, 119–120, 259–284; on the same subject also V. R. Petković, *Kalendar u starom živopisu srpskom. Freske u Sv. Djordju u Starom Nagoričinu*, Starinar III/1, 1923, 3–18; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 79–85, 115–117). In those days the menologion was also depicted in Gračanica (Todić, *Gračanica*, 99–106, 124–126) and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki (Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὀρφανός*, 180–189).

134 On the painted decoration of the Gračanica narthex cf.

Todić, *Gračanica*, 106–108, 129–132, 159–165, 170–178, including all previous bibliography.

[135] Probably because they were entirely repainted in 1803, these Chilandar frescoes did not attract much scholarly attention, so that they are barely known to scientific circles. V. R. Petković (*Pregled*, 340) mentioned that scenes from the lives of Sts. Isidore, Dorotheus, Pachomios, Macarios, Nathaniel, Anthony and Paul the Theban are located in the narthex; after him, but with great mistakes, they were also listed by G. Babić (*Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111); the cycles of Sts. Euphrosinos, Anthony, Paul the Theban, Pambos, Macarios, Pachomios, Paphnutios, Macarios of Alexandria, Dorotheus, Isidore, Nathaniel, Paul the Simple and others were also mentioned by Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84. On the cycles or particular scenes dedicated to these holy monks cf. S. Tomeković, *Place des saints ermites et moines dans la décor de l'église byzantine*, Liturgie, conversion et vie monastique, Roma 1989, 307–331, also and Petković, *Žiča (IV)*, 68–70; Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres*, I/2, 557–566; Š. J. Amiranašvili, *Istorija gruzinskogo iskusstva*, I, Moskva 1950, 180–181; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki*, The Art Bulletin LVIII/2 (1976), 168–183; P. Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, Skopje 1981, 223–224; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 176–179; S. Tomeković, *Note sur saint Gérasime dans l'art byzantin*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 277–284; B. Penkova, *K'm idejno-s'd'ržatelnija kontekst na stenopisite ot c'rkvata "Sv. Četirideset m'čenici" v'v Veliko T'rnovo*, Palaeobulgarica 4 (1995), 75–93.

[136] Cf. P. Evdokimov, *La signification liturgique des portes dans les églises orthodoxes*, Bible et vie chrétienne 51 (1963), 60–66; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 4–20; J. Darruzès, *Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel*, REB 34 (1976), 64–69; R. F. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 178–215, 311–349.

[137] On the images from Arilje cf. Okunev, *Aril'e*, 233–236, 246, 253; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 61; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 25–26, drawing 6; on those from Studenica Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 43; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, 247–248; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 140, 154; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 21–23; O. Kandić, *Oblik kamene oltarske pregrade Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici*, Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200, Beograd 1988, 141–152; for Sopoćani: Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 24–25; V. Korać, *Oltarska pregrada u Sopoćanima*, Zograf 5 (1974), 23–29.

[138] Mijović, *Žiča*, 145–147; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, 249–250; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 23.

[139] In greater detail on all this in Todić, *Gračanica*, 127–128.

[140] The iconostasis of Nagoričino and the paintings surrounding it were the subject of special attention of: N. Beljaev, *Obraz Bož'ej Materi Pelagonitisy*, BS II (1930), 387–392; A. Grabar, *Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie*, ZRVI 7 (1961), 17–22; P. Miljković-Pepek, *Umilitelnite motivi vo vizantiskata umetnost na Balkanot i problemot na Bogorodica Pelagonitisa*, Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej vo Skopje II (1958), 1–27; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 78–80; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 27–31; I. M. Djordjević, *Dve molitve kralja Stefana Dečanskog pre bitke na Velbuždu*, Zbornik LU 15 (1979), 136–140; L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Pelagonitissa et Kardiotissa – variantes extrêmes du type Vierge de Tendresse*, Byzantion LIII/1 (1983), 9–16.

[141] On the images by the altar in St. Nikita cf. Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 78–80; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 26–27; on those in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 76–82; on the Anapeson in Chilandar and St. Nikita, and the iconography of this theme in general, Todić, *Anapeson*, 134–165, also Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180; Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, fig. 18; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 49/2; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 58–60, Taf. 4/A. The Anapeson from Chilandar, which was not repainted in the XIX century, was only partly known until now and this is the first time it is described in greater detail.

[142] Cf. S. Ćurčić, *The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and Its Iconographic Setting*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja IX–X (1979), 313–320; id., *Medieval Royal Tombs in the Balkans – An Aspect of the "East or West" Question*, The Greek Orthodox Theological Review 29/2 (1984), 175–194; D. Popović, *Grob arhiepiskopa Danila II*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, 329–342; ead., *Srpski vladarski grob u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1992; B. Todić, *Ikonografska istraživanja žičkih fresaka XIII veka*, 30–32.

[143] The paintings surrounding the throne in Peć were discussed in two instances by V. J. Djurić, *"Presto svetoga Save"*, Spomenica u čast novoizabranih članova Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Beograd 1972, 92–104 and Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 213–216, 236–237; the frescoes surrounding the throne in Dečani have been listed in V. R. Petković, *Manastir Dečani*, II, Beograd 1941, 25, 27, and were also the subject of a text by M. Radujko, *Program živopisa oko "kraljevskog" prestola*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, 301–306, who interpreted them in the light of royal ideology. On the types and locations of such seats cf. J. Darrouzès, *Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel*, 54–59, 69.

[144] Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 45, fig. 6.

[145] On the saints in the south choir of Arilje cf. Okunev, *Aril'e*, 234–237, 246–247, 253; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 86/2–3, 87/1, 3.

[146] Todić, *Gračanica*, 70–71, 168–169, figs. 33, 109.

[147] Todić, *Nagoričino*, 123. Gordana Babić (*Živopisani ukras*, 31, fig. 26) was the first to draw attention to this fresco. Hegoumenos Venjamin recorded his merits in the decoration of the church in the ktetor's inscription and by placing an image of his holy namesake by the figure of Christ in the narthex (cf. infra). A figure of the Virgin was painted by the seat of the hegoumenos in the katholikon of Chilandar, but opposite it was the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the feast to which this church was dedicated. It is possible, however, that an icon of the Virgin was located by the throne, on a proskinitarion, and this would have been the figure before which St. Symeon Nemanja was interceding on behalf of his descendant, the second ktetor, king Milutin. This could perhaps have been the present-day icon of the Tricheiroussa, which would mean that it is of a somewhat older date than what is generally assumed now, or some other icon of which all track is lost, cf. G. Stričević, *The Donor's Composition in Chilandari*, XVIIIe Congrès inter-

national des études byzantines. Résumés des communications, II, Moscou 1991, 1123–1130.

148 The recently published all-encompassing study of the cycle of St. Nicholas (Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*) includes thorough data on the sources of this cycle and meticulous examinations of all examples known to the author, including those found in Serbian monuments, on them cf. pp. 40–43, 66–126, 130–142, 155–162; Cf. also Okunev, *Aril'e*, 254; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 81–82; III, pl. 112/3, 127/1–2; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 134, 136, 138; B. Živković, *Arilje*, 5; id. *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 34–37; id. *Gračanica*, s. p.; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 64; Todić, *Gračanica*, 110, 134; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 160–175, πίν. 63–69; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 74, 93.

149 The two most thorough studies on the cycle of St. George are those by J. Myslivec, *Svety Jiri ve vychodokrstanskem umeni*, BS V (1933–1934), 304–369 and T. Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art*, New York Univ. 1977; on the sources significant for this cycle cf. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung*, Abhandlungen der Königl. Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaften. Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, XXV. Band, 3. Abhandlung, München 1911. Myslivec's study refers mostly to the cycle from Nagoričino; on this cycle cf. also Todić, *Nagoričino*, 113–115; reproductions of frescoes in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 101–104. The remains of the cycle of St. George from Bogorodica Ljeviška are, so far, best published in the form of drawings, B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 64–65.

150 The bibliography on St. Demetrios, his vitae and services dedicated to him is indeed extensive; of the works related to his cycle we should single out the following: Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 187–210; Α. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος της ζωής του αγίου Δημητρίου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1970; Ch. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography*, London 1977, V (157–178); Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 117–125; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 192–198. Only mentioned in older works, the Prizren cycle of St. Demetrios has recently been published in the form of drawings: B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 61–63.

151 Excellent studies have been written about the mentioned relics and their relation to the tomb of St. Demetrios by A. Xyngopoulos (*Βυζαντινόν κιβωτίδιον μετά παραστάσεων εκ του βίου του αγίου Δημητρίου*, Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς, 1936, 101–136), A. Grabar (*Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrios et la martyrium du saint à Salonique*, Antiquité et Moyen âge, I, 435–453), C. Walter (*St. Demetrius – the Myroblytos of Thessalonika*, Studies in Byzantine Iconography, 159–165) and A. Mentsos, *Το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης στα βυζαντινά χρόνια*, Αθήνα 1994; on the tomb of this saint, according to the sources and the results of archaeological exploration, Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 6–23, 58–63 et passim; on the cult of St. Demetrios in Serbia cf. I. M. Djordjević, *Der heilige Demetrios in der serbischen Adligen Stiftungen aus der Zeit der Nemaniden*, L'art de Thessalonique, 67–73; J. Radovanović, *Heiliger Demetrius – die Ikonographie seines Lebens auf den Fresken des Klosters Dečani*, ibid., 75–88; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 198.

152 The cycle of St. Stephen in Žiča has mostly drawn the attention of the authors of monographs on this monastery: Petković, *Žiča (IV)*, 74–75, 78; Mijović, *Žiča*, 173–174; as well as M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Odraz kulta sv. Stefana u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, Starinar, XII (1961), 50–51; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 145; the frescoes have been published by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 58/2–4, 59, and drawings of these frescoes by B. Živković, *Žiča*, 35–36.

153 The last remains of the cycle were carefully described by Petković, *Žiča (IV)*, 68–70; the Dormition of St. Sabas has been published in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 58/1; on the remains of the cycle in Žiča cf. also Babić, *Les chapelles*, 145–146.

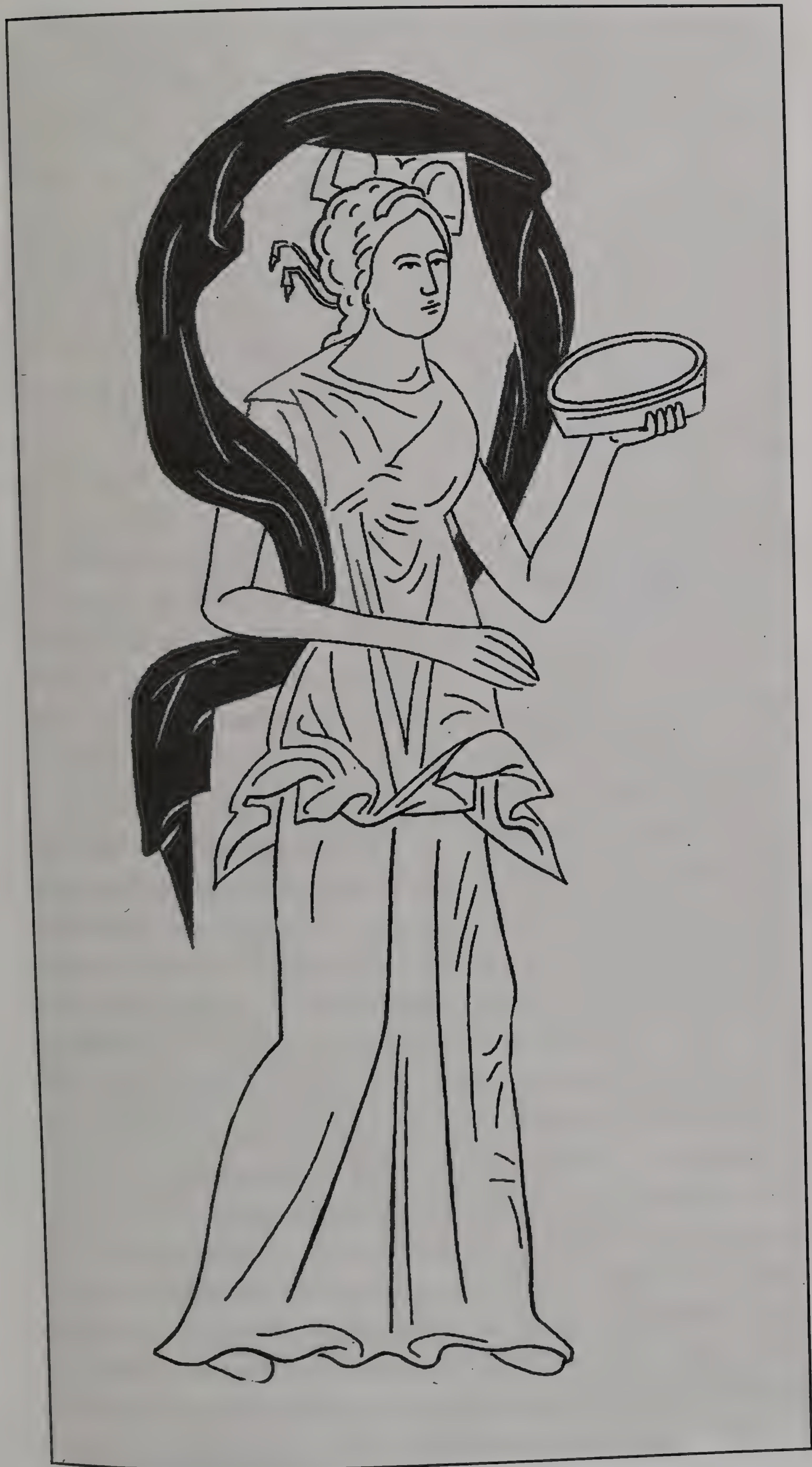
154 The architecture of monastery refectories is the subject of a recently published extensive study by S. Popović, *Krst u krugu. Arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 1994 (on the remains of the refectory in Banjska, 255–259); on the refectory in Chilandar cf. S. Nenadović, *Jedna hipoteza o arhitekturi hilandarske trpezarije*, Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture XIV (1963), 1–12; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 76–78. On liturgical relations between the church and the refectory S. Tomeković, *Place des saints ermites et moines dans le décor de l'église byzantine*, 314–331 (with sources); cf. also the following note.

155 A complete study of the iconography of XIV century frescoes in the refectory of Chilandar has been written by Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 41–49. On the decoration of other refectories mentioned here cf. A. Ορλάνδος, *Η αρχιτεκτονική και βυζαντιναί τοιχογραφίαι της Μονής Θεολόγου Πάτμου*, Αθήνα 1970, 175–255; A. Vol'skaja, *Rospisi srednevekovyh trapeznyh Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1974, 30–66, 98–136, 152–155; H. und H. Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien*, Wien 1976, 185–232. On this occasion we did not reflect on the other mediaeval refectories the programme of which is not similar to that of Chilandar nor on those from the post-Byzantine period; we would, however, like to single out a study on the later decoration of the Chilandar refectory: Z. Kajmaković, *Georgije Mitrofanović*, Sarajevo 1977, 189–267.



114
Staro Nagoričino, *Communion of the Apostles*, detail, 1315-1317

ARTISTIC CURRENTS AND PAINTERS



The generous patronage of king Milutin and his contemporaries came at a time of renewed artistic impetus in the restored Byzantine Empire and introduced Serbian painting to the main artistic currents of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, currents which also produced progressive and beautiful works of art on Mount Athos, in Veria, Ohrid, Mistra and elsewhere. The hiatus in artistic production, so obvious in the Byzantine world during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–1261), was evaded only in Serbia, a state which at that time was experiencing a constant economic, political and cultural rise. At first, during the second half of the XIII century, recuperation in Byzantium was slow and apparently related to the renovation of scriptoria and book illumination workshops, above all in the city of Constantinople, and the reattachment of strings in the line of development that was cut off by the Crusaders in 1204. The surviving XII century monuments indicate that the system of church decoration received its final form in the course of that century, based on the framework established during the previous hundred years. Within that system, major themes stood out as specific entities, gathered and arrayed in accordance with liturgical lections and rites. The translation of complex theological ideas, in their liturgical guise, into the language of the visual arts resulted in the creation of an iconography full of novelties which, being a reflection of the texts read or sung at church services, often favoured narration over symbolic and hidden meanings, familiar only to a limited number of individuals of exceptional theological erudition. The as yet insufficiently explained art of the late Komnenian period shows that the process of simplification of the visual image, in the sense of an inclination towards a greater clarity of its message, a strict composition, monumentality, plastic forms and a uni-

form treatment, was gaining ground as a progressive style and becoming predominant. It was formulated already around the year 1200, as we can deduce from certain frescoes from Serbia, Georgia and Cyprus as well as from a number of icons now kept at different locations. And as to its fate in subsequent times, it is best exemplified by a series of well preserved first class monuments in Serbia – Mileševa, Peć, Morača or Sopoćani.

However, in Byzantine painting of the eight and ninth decades of the XIII century there is a tendency of departure from monumental, bold forms and a growing interest for more detailed narration. At the same time the proportions of the human figure are changing and space is being enlarged and given more depth by multiplying picture planes. The new iconography conditioned the appearance of a different composition and a different arrangement of landscape and architectural elements within the picture. The changes in its appearance which took place at this time are easier to follow in book illumination than on frescoes and mosaics because the miniatures in question were created in the leading artistic centres.[1] Although the art of book illumination was often based on direct copying of much older works, even those of the X and XI centuries, one group of manuscripts displays significant changes and a desire to replace the plastic style of the XIII century with the new concepts of Palaiologan painting.[2] These first class works of art disclose a tendency to seek new forms of expression and they could only have been created in a centre of great artistic tradition. First and foremost, we should assume that the centre in question was Constantinople where emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, immediately upon the liberation of the city (1261), restored the palace scriptorium which produced a great number of illuminated manuscripts. However, we should also take into consideration the city of Thessaloniki, an equally important centre of book illumination.[3]

Shortly after the creation of such miniatures, a series of wall paintings emerged in Byzantium during the last decade of the XIII century, imbued with tendencies to discard more assertively the already mannerist forms from the middle of the century. The earliest precisely dated frescoes are those in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/1295), an endowment of the megas hetaireiarches Progon Sgouros. They are the work of several painters lead by Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, two artists whom we meet for the first time in this church and who are going to play an exceptionally important role in the transformation of Serbian painting at the beginning of the XIV century. The frescoes in the Virgin Peribleptos represent the turning point between two centuries. They are related to earlier art by the monumentality of their compositions, the broad forms and size of the figures while accepting the new artistic expression by introducing a large number of characters into the scenes and enriching them with picturesque spatial elements, extensive storytelling and an occasional dramatic tone of expression. Despite their boldness and assertiveness, their rich colour scheme, which often verges on the indelicate, and the occasionally twisted shapes and contrasts of light and shadow as well as the way the painted flesh is divided into segments only herald the classicism of Palaiologan art.[4] The frescoes in the church of the Virgin at the Protaton on Mount Athos were probably painted at the same time or just a little later. They are very important for the study of the changes which took place in Byzantine painting around the year 1300. They are the work of a group of fine artists whose paintings offer the best insight into the process of formation of the Palaiologan style. Transitional qualities and unaccomplished forms are the main characteristics of the Protaton fresco decoration. Although these wall paintings rely on the art of the XIII century a great deal, as attested by the heavy figures, the manner of painting and the pronounced monumentality – all in the spirit of the preceding period, they also include many novelties which, in a more refined and academic form, are going to be best represented by the classical phase of Palaiologan art. Namely, already in the Protaton a new type of composition, filled with a great number of figures, emerges. There is also an "archeological" approach to the heritage of antiquity, numerous picturesque details, wider and deeper space conveyed through landscape and architectural backdrops as well as a way of rendering draperies with long, parallel folds which gives them a feeling of lightness and transparency. Judging by the sole preserved fragment, the frescoes of the katholikon of the Great Lavra monastery were also painted in this transitional style although with a stronger dependency on linearism.[5] Several icons and some miniatures also belong to this artistic current: the evangelist John in the Lavra, the evangelist Matthew and the Ascension of Christ in Ohrid, gospel books from Princeton (University Library, gr. Garett 2) and the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1153) and others.[6] The passage into the next phase of development of Palaiologan art occurred quite quickly, as demonstrated by the frescoes in the parekklesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki (1303).[7]

Adherence to Tradition

These commotions, aimed at finding a new style of expression, which stirred Byzantine art during the last years of the XIII century hardly even touched contemporary Serbian art. Magnificent edifices of harmonious forms with marble revetment and coloured sculptural decoration on their facades and gilded stucco friezes in their interiors were no longer being built in Serbia nor were there any first rate painters at work in its churches, injecting into them the spirit of metropolitan art and leaving behind masterpieces – as they did once in Studenica, Mileševa or Sopoćani. Already at some time around 1275 queen Jelena could not manage to find a first class artist to decorate her endowment in Gradac and fulfil her wish to repeat the splendour and spirit of Sopoćani. Her sons could not engage the best Constantinopolitan artists either and none of the painters they found in Thessaloniki were able to outmaster their contemporaries. Although there were practically no poor artists among them, unlike some of their contemporaries working on Mount Athos, in Ohrid and in Thessaloniki, they still lackad the determination to break up with old conceptions. The Serbian milieu had already been in touch with such artists who relied on traditional forms, a moderate use of colour and a predominant use of shading in the process of modellation, a correct drawing and a cautious approach to novelties. Around 1265 painters of this sort worked in the parekklesia flanking the narthex of Sopoćani and in Bogdašići.[8]

At the end of the XIII century artist had to comply with theological requirements of growing complexity and this conditioned the emergence of new formulas in the visual arts. These new ideas were materialised only partly on the frescoes painted at that time in Serbia. Unbroken sequences of images were still rare and appeared more as a continuance of similar compositions seen in previous periods than an expression of the new Palaiologan style.

In Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi there were only several compositions. Those on the vault followed the scheme of the Ecumenical Councils while the two or three most prominent figures in these scenes always stood out in dimension among the others. The curved surface of the vault was well suited for the application of inverted perspective which actually does appear here in several instances. On the other hand, the Holy Trinity constitutes a separate, accomplished compositional unit in the shape of a semicircle. However, skilfully organised pictures such as this one were rare in Serbian painting at the close of the XIII century. Apart from this example, an occasional clear, unfettered composition of symmetrical structure, reduced only to the indispensable characters, appears only in Arilje although, even there, most of the frescoes include a greater number of figures arranged without any specific order and, we might say, with an intentional disregard for symmetry (the Betrayal of Judas and the Raising of Lazarus, for example). In Arilje, painted architecture is rarely a part of the composition and its projections are not always based on the same system. The painters working in Arilje were somewhat more consistent in shaping the landscape and integrating it with the figures – this is accomplished partly successfully in the Nativity and far better in scenes related to the righteous Abraham. Breakthroughs into the depth of compositional space are even more scarce and achieved, for example, through a diagonal position of the bed upon which Anne reclines in the Birth of the Virgin or the slanted line of the staircase in the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. It is important to note, however, that in Arilje light is certainly used as an important element of the composition not only to point out the conceptual focus of a scene but also as a means of stronger bonding of all visual points into an accomplished unit, as in the Baptism or the Dormition.[9]

The break with the main current of Byzantine XIII century painting, as well as with the emulation of works of mediocre artistic qualities, is also felt in the use of colour. A sort of dim light prevails on the frescoes, colour no longer imbues all the images but is there, occasionally, only to single out a certain figure and to enhance the picturesque qualities of a scene or an architectural form. As a result, colour harmonies become more and more simple and are finally reduced to contrasts of light and shadow. Still, the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel seem to have retained a certain degree of freshness typical of the better works of this period. A warm reddish ochre is used to paint the flesh and parallel white lines appear as highlights producing solid, well defined forms. In instances where the net of fine lines is not applied in the modelling of faces, shading is gradual, with deep, green tones, and the general impression more striking.

The few surviving frescoes from the third layer of decoration of Petrova crkva show traces of intense burning which has greatly altered their original appearance. Only the remaining unharmed surfaces – one angel and several bishops in the altar and one holy stylite in the narthex – indicate that these frescoes

were dominated by pale shading, almost without any green tones at all, and a rather copious use of brown. Light colours, the use of linearism in modelling and red highlights on the cheekbones of the angels are reminiscent of some Komnenian models which the painters working in Petrova crkva must have had in mind.

In Arilje, too, the colours were mostly stifled, lacking in tone variations and co-ordinated in such a manner that their loudness masked the absence of light and shade contrasts. Here, too, green was the basic colour used in rendering flesh. It is closer to that of Dragutin's chapel rather than to the shade used in Petrova crkva. Coats of ochre were applied over it, lighter on the cheeks and darker in the shaded parts, thus creating an impression of gradual transition between the two colours. A similar technique of painting was used also for the portraits, the only difference being the warmer colours chosen for them. Reddish-yellow ochre and brown prevail over green, used to paint the faces of saints. Meanwhile, the light and shade principle was still predominant on some frescoes: the Communion of the Apostles, Birth of the Virgin, Road to Calvary and certain prophets or single figures on the pilasters. There, the treatment of flesh was reduced to the indispensable measure, the green is closer to olive and, because there are no gradual transitions of its hues, the contrasts are very strong and abrupt. This is even more accentuated by the appearance of deep green spots, very conspicuous around the eyes, the nose and on the neck. Essentially, this technique was closer to some older works of the XIII century while being very rare or entirely discarded in Serbian and Byzantine painting of the early XIV century. In order to reconcile plastic forms with a tonal use of colour, some of the faces in Arilje – of John the Prodromos, the apostles Peter and Paul or queen Jelena – are furrowed, as seen occasionally in earlier or even contemporary art. These different concepts in the treatment of colour and form are clearly reflected by the frescoes of Arilje. In instances where tridimensionality was intended, the drawing would become more precise, the shapes more polished up and the act of applying paint slower while the coats of paint grew in thickness. In other instances, however, there is an obvious improvisation in drawing, colour is applied more freely, briskly and energetically and the embellishment of images is entirely disregarded while painters rely increasingly on contrasts of light and shade. Apart from frescoes of this quality, we also find in Arilje a series of paintings of an altogether different nature. There, green is either almost entirely omitted – as on the portraits of Serbian archbishops, the Sacrifice of Abraham or the Council of Nemanja and the Ecumenical Councils – or used, as in the south parekklesion, rather ineptly.

The Vatican icon of Sts. Peter and Paul, with portraits of queen Jelena and kings Milutin and Dragutin, displays almost all the traits of the still deeply traditional art which marked the close of the XIII century, enhanced also by a presence of certain western influences. The solid, although almost rigid drawing stresses the contours while the dark green, violet and red are carefully balanced. Together, they produce an icon which stands out as one of the most successful Serbian works of art from the end of the XIII century.[10]

The use of colour nuances being quite restricted in the art of these monuments, drawing was becoming increasingly predominant. Still, except for the occasional frescoes in Petrova crkva and Arilje, it never drifted into indelicacy nor did it ever result in deformity, as was the case with some contemporary provincial Byzantine works. XIII century classicism was too strong to be forgotten so quickly, at least in Serbia. It persisted longest on the standing figures of the first register, always treated with greater care and underpainted. The tendency to embellish the depicted forms checked the predominance of linearism and softened its bold expressionism, especially in the case of portraits of living persons in Djurdjevi Stupovi and Arilje. The portraits of kings Milutin and Dragutin in the latter church rank among the best of their sort in Serbian medieval art. Although imbued with a certain degree of conscious embellishment, the efforts to render the physical beauty of the young kings give them an air of uncommon nobility, an appealing appearance and a graceful, representative quality.[11]

Apart from the mentioned Vatican icon, the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel should also be included in the group of finer art works which make no major breaks with traditions of the XIII century. The better preserved frescoes – Sts. Joachim and Anne, the Holy Trinity and several half-figures – show that their creator ranked among the better artists of the day and that he was educated on the good models offered by the generation before him from which he adopted the full and solid shapes still imbued with the heritage of Byzantine classicism. The wall paintings of Arilje, on the other hand, oscillate in quality and, on the whole, present a different picture. As opposed to the composed air of Dragutin's chapel, in Arilje we come across more expressive forms and compositions which are no longer reduced only to the chosen few figures arranged around the conceptual focus of the picture.

Here, their gestures are overemphasised and their stances unexpected. The characters we see here have nothing in common with the classicism of the 1260's nor with those from Dragutin's chapel. Divergences from traditional models are most obvious in the Nativity, certain parts of the Dormition, the Birth and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. The unskilled work of the poorest artist of the group working in Arilje left these frescoes completely isolated in Serbian art of the XIII and XIV centuries. There were, of course, other, much better painters in that same group. Although they, too, were reluctant to discard XIII century concepts, their manner of painting is special and they did have the skills to produce works of great artistic value such as the portraits in the narthex, the prophets in the dome, the Annunciation and an adjacent figure of prophet David or those of Christ and the Virgin in the south part of the naos. Paintings of this sort represent the natural close to the path of development of high quality art in XIII century Serbia.[12]

Today, scholars of medieval art are especially interested in the possibility of discovering the identities of painters and finding out whether they had apprentices as well as in revealing where and upon which models they were educated. This sort of curiosity faces many difficulties because artists' signatures are very scarce in the Middle Ages while their method of work, in particular on great monuments, is still pretty vague. The state of preservation of Serbian art from the close of the XIII century does not open up great possibilities for the study of these questions. Still, it does seem certain that, during that period, painters from abroad were engaged to perform the required services and that, upon completing their tasks, they left Serbia. Thus, there were no resident groups of artists working in Serbia for longer periods of time. Because of the fragmentary state of preservation of the frescoes in Petrova crkva, we could easily make mistakes in assessing their value and assigning them to a number of different artists. Even if they are the work of several painters, their style, based on good drawing and a lighter palette, is quite homogeneous. With a certain degree of caution, we could single out two different techniques of painting accompanied by two different styles of lettering in the inscriptions. Some of the images in the dome, as well as Aaron in the south-east squinch and certain figures in the bottom register (St. Christopher, St. John the Merciful, St. Ephraim the Syrian), display a strong linearism, rigid drawing, large eyes, thick contours and a more pronounced inclination towards ornamented draperies. Other figures, on the other hand, show an absence of these traits: the archangel and the heads of the bishops in the altar, St. Nicholas and St. Symeon the Stylite in the narthex. Bold contours are no longer used to delineate the figures while the colour nuances on the pale green base of the faces are soft and gentle. Works of this sort, which we are inclined to ascribe to the hand of a different painter, are closer, although only partly, to the transitional monuments from the end of the XIII century. It is difficult to say who these painters were because no true counterpart of their work can be found in any of the monuments known so far. It is only certain that they adhered to XIII century traditions and that, relying mostly on linearism, they were cautious in the use of colour and the brightening of their palette.[13]

The frescoes of Dragutin's chapel are also based on solutions from the middle of the XIII century but their quality is considerably higher. The artist working there produced solid shapes, monumental in form and intensive in colour. The occasional incursions of the Greek language in the inscriptions disclose his origins, further attested also by similarities with certain contemporary monuments from Constantinople and Mistra, and it is not impossible that he reached Serbia from the Byzantine capital.[14]

Today, it is no easier to unravel the origins of the artist who painted the icon of the holy apostles Peter and Paul for queen Jelena and her sons in order that they may present it to the church of St. Peter in Rome. This icon was certainly made in Serbia because the inscriptions by the apostles are written out in Serbian. Moreover, its characteristics – large figures, carefully painted in dark colours lacking the brilliance which is so typical of slightly later art, a sure drawing and a recognisable plasticity of the figures – link it to the sort of art produced in Serbia towards the end of the XIII century. The already noticed resemblances to some of the frescoes from Arilje could indicate Thessaloniki as the point of origin of its author. On the other hand, it is possible that this icon is the work of a Greek or a Serbian artist from one of the workshops in the littoral region under queen Jelena's administration because, probably as a result of her personal desire and in view of the icon's future destination, the saint who is shown blessing the queen is wearing the robes of a Catholic bishop.[15]

Finally, the vacillating quality of the wall paintings of Arilje indicates that several artists of different skills and abilities worked side by side in this church. Apart from the two who had mastered their craft and showed

indisputable artistic virtues, there were also those who were barely skilled in the art of painting and were thus relegated to the less conspicuous parts of the church interior. The two better artists worked simultaneously, at times even side by side. One of them worked on the decoration of the dome. His faces of the prophets Joel, Jonah and Malachi are easily recognised. They are broadly lighted and have narrow green patches of shading, a reddish ochre is the basic colour used with short highlights in white and red. His compositions of the Baptism and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple are refined, with harmonious figures and a carefully painted architecture. There, as in the Annunciation, the Betrayal of Judas, the Communion or the central part of the Dormition, his work is characterised by bright colours with gradual transitions between the illuminated and the shaded parts and a more freehand treatment of the folds on the clothes. His manner of painting is discerned on the figures of prophet David and St. Laurus and he was certainly the author of most of the frescoes in the bottom register (including the figures of the ktetors, Christ on the south-west pilaster, archbishop Jevstatije and bishop Jevsevije) and, probably, of all the figures on the west wall of the south choir. The other painter working alongside him produced the Entry into Jerusalem, the Nativity and two scenes from the cycle of the Virgin, her Birth and Presentation in the Temple, as well as several single figures, most certainly those in the bottom register around the iconostasis, along with the portraits of Dragutin's children in the narthex and the Nemanjids in the naos. His paintings are characterised by non-classical figures, their colours are not strong and the shading abrupt while the folds on the draperies are soft. When he was more attentive in his work – as in the lowest register – he was able to create some accomplished paintings based on a use of nuancing and line. Apart from those two, other artists, inferior to them, were also working on the decoration of Arilje. One of them assisted the first of the two better artists discussed above in the painting of the Dormition and he barely managed to render the figures of the apostles showing them in profile while painting their eyes as if they were standing frontally, lifting them off the ground and clothing them ineptly. Probably the least able among them painted the frescoes in the parekklesion of St. Nicholas. His style is difficult to define because he is one of those inferior artists who could appear at any given time even though there were only a few of them in the history of Serbian medieval art.[16]

All in all, painting in Serbia at the end of the XIII century did not have the characteristics of transitional art except, to a certain point, in the domain of iconography. For that reason, when a new art of a different nature emerged after the year 1300 it never had a true precursor in the painting which marked the first decades of Milutin's rule. A certain isolation, so to say, of Serbian art from the end of the XIII century and its dependency on the experiences of artists of the previous generation is not the result only of the ineptness or unlearnedness of the painters. The frescoes of Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi or even those of Petrova crkva and a part of the decoration at Arilje show us that its creators were not lacking in talent or knowledge. With the exception of certain frescoes from Arilje which are the work of a beginner, the other ensembles, together with the icon of Sts. Peter and Paul, are the work of fine painters who probably came to Serbia from different centres of Byzantine art and stayed there for varying periods of time. It is widely accepted in scientific circles that the artists who worked at Arilje came from Thessaloniki. The Greek origins of the better educated painter who produced the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel are also indisputable. During the period of turmoil in Byzantine book illumination and wall painting which lasted through the second half of the XIII century, no particular artistic current became predominant. Apart from emulating the great art which had produced Sopoćani or St. Sophia at Trebizond, painting of this period was also turning towards models set by the X and XI centuries as well as the examples of the waning, late Komnenian art. This resulted in a motley situation in the field of artistic production. However, during the final decade of the XIII century there were some more decided turns towards a new art which was basically dependent on the type of picture formulated in Sopoćani. Quite understandably, these turns were accompanied by hesitancies and misunderstandings regarding colour harmonies and classicist drawing. This classicist current, which originated in Constantinople and Thessaloniki, was to reach Serbia only after 1300.[17]

Taking into consideration testimonies regarding the Thessalonikan origins of the painters working in Arilje, should we assume that art created during the last decade of the XIII century in that Byzantine city is actually similar to that of this Serbian church? It seems that the answer could indeed be affirmative. Still, we should not loose sight of the fact that, in those days, there were also other workshops active in Thessaloniki which were more open towards artistic impulses coming from Constantinople. Such workshops were to pro-





duce the likes of Michael Astrapas, Eutychios, Georgios Kalliergis, Michael Proeleusis and others who were to work not only in Thessaloniki but also in Serbia, Veria, on Mount Athos and even in Constantinople.[18] Other Thessalonikan artists of the last decades of the XIII century – those whose painting was based on conventional forms, in a slightly simplified classicist variation, and rather dull colours – wandered far from their home town in search of work. Apart from Arilje, we also find their works on Attica, in the Omorphi Ecclesia church in Athens (around 1300). In the group of artists working on the frescoes in this church, the one who painted the south parekklesion stands out. His classicists forms, colour-

115
Petrova crkva in Ras, *The righteous Melchizedek*, around 1280

116
Petrova crkva in Ras, *St. Symeon the Stylite*, around 1280



117
Arilje, *Betrayal of Judas*, detail, 1295/1296



118
Arilje, *Nativity of Christ*, 1295/1296



119
Arilje, *Annunciation*, detail: *archangel Gabriel*, 1295/1296



120
Arilje, *Road to Calvary*, detail, 1295/1296

ing and use of dark green shadows offer the closest parallels to the art of the first, and the best painter of Arilje. At a slightly earlier date, around 1280, an artist working on the compositions of the Pentecost, Annunciation, Ascension and the Hospitality of Abraham in the church of St. Demetrios of Katsoures near Arta produced paintings which are similar in spirit to the creations of the nameless artists of Arilje or Athens. Moreover, the prophets in the central dome of the church of the Virgin Parigoritissa at Arta, decorated with mosaics towards the end of the XIII century, are also reminiscent of Arilje – in colour, typology, drawing and the play of light and shadow. The fact that this art represents the antithesis of the contemporary style typical of Arta and Attica only goes to prove that these painters came from another centre. The close relation of this art with the frescoes of Arilje,[19] almost certainly the work of artists from Thessaloniki, points to this Byzantine city as the place of their origin.

It is very difficult to find such close parallels in contemporary Byzantine art for other frescoes produced during the final decades of the XIII century in Serbia. Those of Dragutin's chapel are rather similar in drawing, the stunted proportions of figures and shading to the cycle of Sts. Cosmas and Damian from the south aisle of the church of St. Demetrios at Mistra (shortly after 1292) and even closer to the paintings from the Constantinopolitan church of St. Euphemia (around 1280) with which they share the typology of characters, the manner of drawing and a lighter palette.[20] These similarities testify that, in the decoration of the parekklesion of unknown dedication at Djurdjevi Stupovi, king Dragutin may also have engaged an artist of Constantinopolitan background, an adherent of the traditional style who was moderate in introducing novelties to the manner of painting formulated around the middle of the XIII century. This style obviously suited the notions of the Serbian milieu, still under the influence of the great art of Sopoćani the spirit of which hovered above it and re-emerged occasionally, although only in its exterior appearance, only to dwindle out gradually on the walls of Gradac and the endowments of king Dragutin.

These comparisons with Byzantine frescoes show, on the one hand, that towards the close of the XIII century Serbian painting was no longer the leader in the field in the Orthodox world. At that time new works of art of different forms and a different spirit were already being created in Constantinople, Mistra, Thessaloniki and its environs, on Mount Athos and in Ohrid. On the other hand, they also indicate that no decisive step was taken at that moment to overcome the conventional conceptions. Still, Serbian art of this period never stooped to the level of the poor and provincial painters working on the territory of the archbishopric of Ohrid, in Epirus, on Attica or the Greek islands. Owing to its contacts with artists from Thessaloniki and perhaps even Constantinople, although, truth to tell, not the very best of them, Serbian art did manage to retain rather high standards and produce some works which certainly do deserve our attention. In that manner it stayed in touch with the greatest artistic achievements of the previous period and was ready to adopt the new art immediately after 1300 and thus rejoin the most progressive currents of Byzantine painting.

Intimations of a New Art

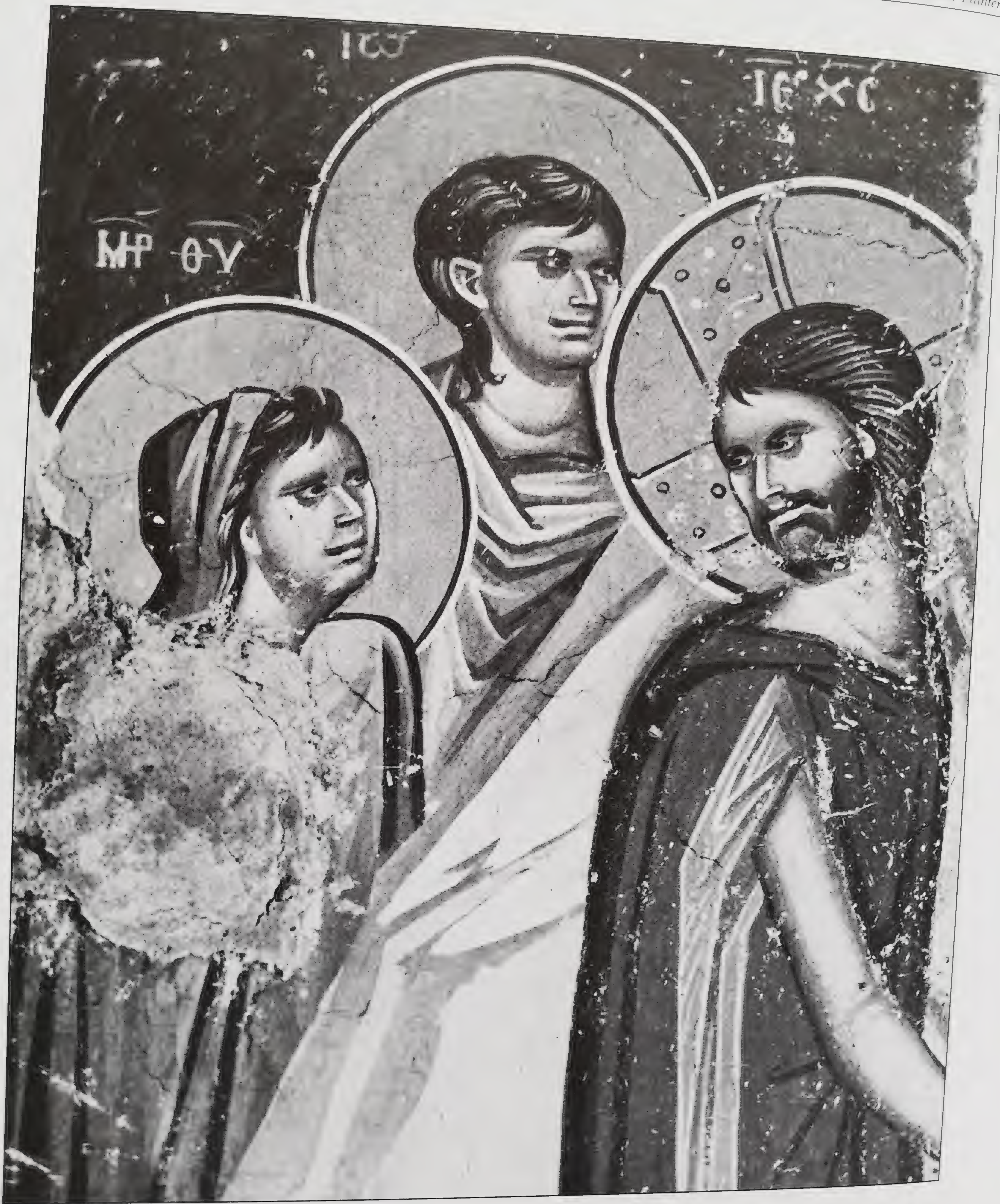
It is certainly not accidental that the first signs of this new art appeared only after king Milutin turned towards the Byzantine Empire and married a member of the Byzantine imperial family in 1299. This event opened wide the doors for a thorough spread of Byzantine customs, ideas, systems of values – political, legal and ideological – and Byzantine culture in Serbia, easily recognised in literature, architecture and art of that era. On the other hand, in considering the beacons of these artistic conceptions, we should not disregard the fact that the new style of painting, much closer to the progressive currents of the cultural and spiritual centres of Byzantium, first appeared in the churches which were under the jurisdiction of the Serbian archbishopric. It would be most truthful to say that, following the year 1300, a set of favourable circumstances had converged in Serbia as a result of the king's pro-Byzantine policy and the strong support he received from the Church, lead by former Chilandar monks who were apparently well acquainted with the cultural developments on Mount Athos and in nearby Thessaloniki.[21] The monuments preserved in those two centres clearly disclose a restlessness to discard the old, weary and waning forms, typical of the generation of artists who worked in Arilje, and to focus all attention on what was going on in Constantinople. Although there are no explicit confirmations, we can claim, albeit cautiously, that the role of instigator of the new, Constantinopolitan style of art belongs to a generation of young artists from Thessaloniki. The first precisely dated monument, the Virgin Peribleptos from 1294/95, is located in Ohrid but it is beyond doubt that its

artists came from another centre. Most recent research has confirmed, irrefutably it seems, that Michael and Eutychios came from Thessaloniki. The style which Michael and Eutychios adopted was accepted in the years around 1300 by the most prominent representatives of the Athonite milieu, as attested by the church in the Karyes, its capital, and the most prestigious monastery on Athos, the Great Lavra. Commissions of this sort paved the way for the emergence of a different art which bonded tradition with new principles of artistic production, not only in iconography but perhaps even more in the creative spirit and the domain of form. Painters who worked in this style received recognition from a high imperial official, the army commander Michael Tarchaniotes Glabbas, who, in 1303, employed artists from their ranks to decorate his parekklesion of St. Euthymios by the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki.[22] This could mean that their manner of painting was close to that of the Constantinopolitan artists which Glabbas had known and admired. During the following decades, a strong merging of Thessalonikan and Constantinopolitan style of painting was going to take place which only goes to prove how fast the Thessalonikan artists matured and how open their work was to changes effectuated under influence of the refined art of the capital.

The Serbian milieu, always open to progressive trends coming from Constantinople and Thessaloniki, lagged behind those two cities as well as Ohrid and Mount Athos by only about ten years. The circumstances which ensued after 1299, despite the ongoing serious dynastic conflicts, enabled it to access and adopt quickly the new and appealing style which had already been accepted in the neighbouring regions of Byzantium. The brief delay may have been caused by the general tumultuous climate on the Serbian political scene and an absence of great artistic projects in the first years after Milutin's break-up with his brother. During that time Milutin was mostly preoccupied with a tense struggle to remain in power which left him little time to consider restoring the old or raising new endowments. Greater care was devoted only to the most necessary interventions which had to be undertaken in the sees of the Serbian Archbishopric, Žiča and Peć. The restoration of the church at Žiča, the original archbishopric see, was long and gradual because it appears that the destruction it suffered around 1290 was quite extensive. The new, permanent see of Serbian archbishops at Peć was restored around 1300 and it is possible that even king Milutin himself was involved in this enterprise. At that time, the west part of the old church of the Holy Apostles, an endowment of archbishop Arsenije I (around 1260), was remodelled and decorated with wall paintings. In both iconography and style, those frescoes from Peć marked the emergence of the new art in Serbia. Except for a few weaker spots, they have practically nothing in common with the frescoes of Arilje created, perhaps, less than a decade earlier.[23]

For the first time in the Serbian milieu, elongated figures of bright colour, painted against a striking dark blue background, appeared in Peć. They were united by a well balanced composition in which the landscape and the architecture not only complemented each other but even fused into one, thus enlivening the entire setting. The clear and unclouded Sopoćani style picture in which each element was carefully chosen and arrayed, a trade mark of the XIII century, is no longer present in Peć. Not only are the scenes arranged in sequences without any vertical borders dividing them into different, closed-off units, but there is also a multitude of new characters populating the familiar compositional schemes and transforming their appearance. Large, sturdy figures, looking just a little awkward in their tight, short hitons, have discarded their static postures, they turn in animated gesticulation, bend and rise above one another. Quite unexpectedly, figures of greatly diminished stature, servants of Caiaphas in his palace or grammatics at the court tribunal, appear among soldiers of athletic physique. Contrasts like these, together with the agitated groups of figures and the dynamic architecture with which they intermingle, introduce a specific and rarely seen restlessness and drama to the picture. Christ is the only person peacefully suffering his passion while none of the other figures make so much as an attempt to hide their heightened emotions: the apostles express surprise and bewilderment at the fact that their teacher is about to wash their feet, the Jews show their anger and unconstrained rage, the soldiers parade power and ruthlessness, the grammatics the fervour of disputation, apostle Peter discloses his fear and endless sorrow for the teacher he has renounced, the Virgin and John intimate their painful loss of son and teacher. All that agitation, the pronounced facial expressions and the strong gestures were typical of transitional styles in the history of Byzantine painting and meant a departure from a classical order and studied arrangement of elements within a picture now dominated by details.

The minor changes which were introduced to the frescoes of Peć, and not only in the field of iconography, represent a new treatment of the picture charac-



121
Peć, Holy Apostles, *Christ before the cross*, detail, around 1300



122
Peć, Holy Apostles, *Betrayal of Judas*, detail, around 1300

terised as much by a different regard of artistic heritage as an expressedly personal approach – of course, in the measure in which such a thing was possible in Byzantine art, especially at a time of transition between different styles. The interesting and enticing question regarding the role of heritage in the formation of this manner of artistic expression should not, however, overshadow the novelties displayed by the Peć frescoes, full of fresh details which did transform the visual image of painting regardless of their questionable purpose and credibility within it. Leaving behind conventional rules, the artists working at Peć displayed a special predilection for representing youthful, at times even child-like characters, depicting even the apostles as beardless youths with small heads resting on strong conical shaped necks and the Virgin as a young plebeian women with uncovered hair and an entirely unclassical appearance. They devoted great care to the painting of two groups of soldiers wearing short hitons, armour, helmets of imaginative shapes and attractive turbans and sashes while sporting large, ornamented shields, swords, maces and spears with blades glistening against the night blue sky. Quite unexpectedly, they were successful in convincingly rendering the tribunal with young jurists engaged in lively discussion, raising their arms and pointing at one another or the scriptures before them, tapping each other on the shoulder. They gave a documentary credibility to Christ's trial before Caiaphas by rendering a candlestick bearer behind the Jewish high priest and a scribe dipping his quill into the inkwell and putting down on parchment the accusations against Christ. Taking care that the recognisable iconographic scheme of the composition is not disturbed, the artists working in Peć rendered in great detail the household of Caiaphas, including the servants gathered around the fireplace, the servant girls standing in the doorways, the rooster whose crowing confronts Peter with the horrible truth that he has renounced his teacher, Pilate's wife who appears at a window warning her husband to be careful in pronouncing the sentence. Finally, in the Road to Calvary, they singled out the centurion Longinus leading his company.

In Peć, this sequence of unusual details was augmented by the conspicuously emphasised architectural background of indisputable scenic qualities. This is one of the reasons behind certain inconsistencies in its depiction: it is often reduced to large, simplified forms, always seen from above and in inverse perspective, it rises high above the human figures and its many protrusions and openings provide strong lighting, it has undergone transformation – from a simple indicator of location to an important element of the picture. Occasionally the treatment of painted architecture is aimed at rendering interiors (Christ Before Annas). The imaginary porch of Caiaphas's house is marked by a row of columns supporting arcades while entrances to Roman houses include coffered ceilings and relief ornaments in the lunettes above the openings. The appearance of architectural backgrounds of this sort, most often of very imaginative shapes, and attempts to make them a part of the compositional structures rank among the well known efforts undertaken at the close of the XIII and the beginning of the XIV century in order to give painted architecture a place of greater importance, whether as an element of the composition or simply a picturesque detail. Another significant novelty displayed by the frescoes in the west part of the Holy Apostles at Peć is the light palette and the warm colour harmonies, the antithesis of those seen in Arilje. True, these harmonies are still not entirely coordinated with the contrasts on the draperies (as opposed to the faces and hands), dominated by a basic cold green and careful nuancing leading from this cool colour to the warm, well lighted spots. Moreover, the departure from tonal painting occasionally lead to uncoordinated colour harmonies and even a clashing of colours as well as insertions of often very bright reflections of light or deep shadows on the faces. Still, on the whole, flesh was rendered in carefully blended strokes which underlined the plasticity of forms and their refined roundness. Those frescoes which are completely free of any empty ornamentation and artificial expressiveness – such as St. Nicholas, St. Constantine and Helena – rank among the best works of the transitional period in both Serbian and Byzantine art from around 1300.

The uniform frescoes in the west part of the church of the Holy Apostles represent a remarkable ensemble which announces the emergence of a new style of painting in Serbia. They could be the work of two different artists because scenes such as the Renouncement of Peter, Washing of the Feet, the Virgin with Child and parts of other compositions display colder colour tones and certain faults in the drawing. Other frescoes are the work of another artist and they are characterised by warmer colours, dark red and blue, and outlines which mark the contours of more solid shapes. The agitated composition, the use of large scale architectural backdrops which create an effect of spatial depth, the facial types and the colour scheme which is often devoid of refined harmonies make these frescoes from Peć a part of a group of monuments from around



123
Peć, Holy Apostles, *High priest Annas with the pharisees*, around 1300

1300 marked by an expressed desire to discard old shapes and introduce abrupt, at times even inconsistent and one-sided changes. Because these frescoes share the qualities of those from the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, the Protaton, Žiča and a part of the decoration of Vatopedi, it is possible that the artists working on the mentioned ensembles originated from the same artistic centre which, at the turn of the century, fostered art of this sort.[24] The Peć frescoes are probably not the work of Michael and Eutychios since it is difficult to fit them into their line of development which can be followed from the Virgin Peribleptos to the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje. It is, nevertheless, undeniable that they are close to their early works.



124
Žiča, *Annunciation to Zachary*, detail, around 1310



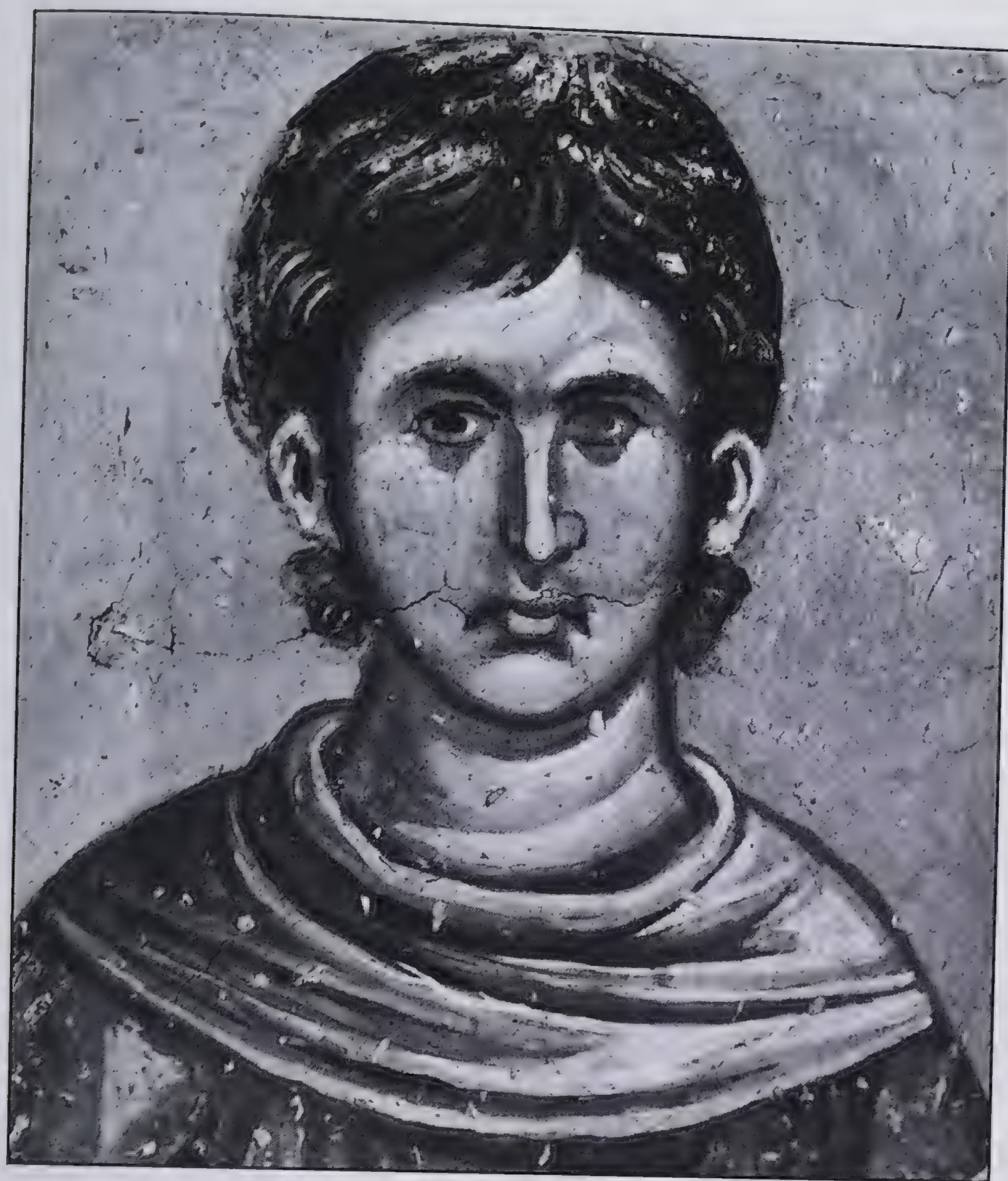
125
Žiča, *Evangelist John*, detail, around 1310

The reconstruction of the other archbishopric see, the one at Žiča, which had suffered destruction at the hands of Kuman troops during the 1290's and was subsequently under restoration for a long time, ending only in the days of Danilo II (1324–1337), did not include painters of such high performances, curios of the new, progressive art that was emerging in Thessaloniki and its environs. Still, it is possible that they did come from that milieu. However, no member of this group of artists had a personality strong enough to impose his manner of work on the others. The painters who worked at Žiča belong to the same artistic current which had already produced the decoration of Arilje and other similar ensembles. On the other hand, they also appear to have been inspired by new trends which they adopted cautiously and not always too assiduously. Still, memories of conventional, balanced forms and dark colours were obviously intense among them. This reasonably successful mixture of conservative ideas and new types of figures of saints, enlivened by a brighter palette, produced some rather accomplished works at Žiča, in particular those painted by the best artist of the group. The archaic qualities of these paintings are only underlined by the fact that in the sanctuary and the naos they virtually only repeat the paintings of the older layer frescoes dating from the days of St. Sava and Prvovenčani. The indisputable intention of the new ktetors and artists to repaint the old pictures in their original locations predetermined the size and even the appearance of the new wall paintings. That is why the apse is taken up by towering figures of bishops, as well as their half-figures enclosed in frames that resemble icons hanging on the walls, and the space in front of the iconostasis is reserved for the especially chosen saints standing under painted arcades. All this looked pretty archaic in an early XIV century monument and was reminiscent of late Komnenian models and the monumental art of the 1220's which the first ktetors of Žiča had originally chosen for their endowment. This XIII century decoration – including apostle figures and other scenes in the choirs – is exactly what the new generation of artists of king Milutin's time encountered in Žiča. Still, despite the predetermined themes and even the size and some outward features of the individual pictures, the wall paintings produced at the beginning of the XIV century do display the concepts of the younger generation of artists, their knowledge and capability,[25] which are still conspicuous, even after all the damage and occasional losses of the upper layer of paintings.



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Žiča, *Holy martyr in a medallion*, around 1310

There is a number of painters from this group of artists who worked on the fresco decoration of Žiča during the days of archbishop Jevstatije II (1292–1309) and his successor Sava III (1309–1316) whose creations are easy to point out. The general archaic quality of Žiča's wall paintings is especially conspicuous in the work of the artist who decorated most of the altar space and painted only a few frescoes in the naos. His work is characterised by a monochromatic and extremely cautious treatment of figures as well as by contrasts of pale green and reddish surfaces. He stressed the plastic qualities of faces by painting circular lines around the cheekbones as well as by relying on a gentle deformation of facial features and painting vertical lines which cut across the heads, in the manner of the early works of Michael and Eutychios and one of the artists from Arilje. The relation with the Virgin Peribleptos is, however, only superficial, incidental, while there is more consistency in the correlation with Arilje. Together with the reserved and timid colour scheme, Žiča also shares with Arilje a similar manner of rendering heads, especially those of older persons like St. Sabas the Sanctified or St. Nicholas. The drawing in these cases is rigid, the foreheads are wrinkled and there is an excessive use of



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Žiča, *Holy martyr in a medallion*, around 1310

blue and olive which induced the painter to rely mostly on linearism and tonal effects. Although his figures are still massive and heavy, their general mien is significantly different from that seen in Arilje because their staunchness has been diminished by a livelier colouring of the clothes. These display sharp folds and bright lighting, typical of the transitional art from around 1300. This could mean that the artists who worked in Žiča, like those from Arilje, probably came from Thessaloniki and that they were reluctant to discard conventional solutions while being cautious in adopting, only partly for that matter, new trends.

One member of the group of painters working in this church, perhaps their leader, because most of the preserved frescoes can be attributed to him, was an adherent of different ideas, much more progressive and up-to-date, which he shared with the artists working in the Holy Apostles at Peć and even some of those who decorated the katholikon at Vatopedi and the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren. His works in Žiča are easily recognised – the evangelists on the pendentives, the Annunciation, Annunciation to Zachary, Last Supper, Pentecost, most of the Dormition of the Virgin – because his palette is brighter, although the colour tones are cold, contrasts softer and nuancing more gradual thus producing more accomplished forms, refined colour nuancing, with only an occasional emphasised stroke, and a striking drawing of the neck, nose and forehead. His frescoes represent the finest symbiosis of old conceptions and new artistic articulation. The composition of the Pentecost discloses this painter's tendency to interconnect his figures more tightly, to breathe life and naturalness into them. The angel in the Annunciation to Zachary in shown is lively movement, emphasised by the position of the wings and the fluttering clothes. Even the Virgin is awoken from her usual solemn, static stance and shown in movement and with an expression of surprise and fear. The restlessness which dominates the picture, as in the Holy Apostles of Peć, required an excellent sense of drawing. The handwriting of this painter from Žiča is characterised by small, round heads on long necks, straight, sharply pointed noses, deep green shadows on the face and long folds on the clothes which are strongly emphasised by light. His architectural backdrops, shown rarely and always in inverse perspective, are also brightly lighted. Their forms are pared down to the essentials. Altogether, they are no more than a topos of the art of the transitional period. The specific manner of painting of the best artist working in the naos of Žiča is easily recognised on some of the better portraits of martyrs in circular medallions as well as among the personages of the lowest register of frescoes, like Christ and the Virgin close to the iconostasis. However, several artists were engaged in painting the large fresco of the Dormition. Its central part can certainly be attributed to the best among them. The stances and expressions of Christ and the Virgin, lying on the bier, are noble (in particular the image of Christ filled with sadness as he watches his mother lie in state) and pretty, especially the angels, while rendered in cool colour tones. Two other painters worked alongside him. The one who painted the apostles gathered around the Virgin's head was very inept: in his simplified manner he did not use any green at all, his drawing is loose, faces bland and unpolished. The poor performance of his assistants only emphasised the good points of the master who left his mark on the fresco decoration of Žiča. Although it does display similarities with some other monuments already mentioned here, so far it is impossible to trace his work elsewhere outside Žiča. Working alongside less talented traditionalists he managed to ennoble their work but was not entirely successful in winning them over to his novel ideas. We do not know whether, following the completion of the wall



paintings at Žiča, he vanished from the scene together with his less able companions or transformed his style to such an extent that it became unrecognisable and similar to the works of Michael and Eutychios from the second decade of the XIV century.[26]

Judging by the better preserved frescoes in the south parekklesion, the decoration of the side chapels of Žiča was entrusted to less competent artists. In their desire to emulate the spirit of the wall paintings from the naos, they produced an art which was based on pronounced contrasts, especially in rendering flesh. In the work of one of them the shadows, in particular those around the eyes, are withdrawn to the very perimeter of the forms. They are deep, dark green and

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Žiča, *Forty martyrs of Sebaste*, detail, 1309–1316

create a violent contrast with the reddish ochre which dominates the faces of the saints. The composition is also a weak point, either diffused or tightly packed with figures which, in turn, are either stocky (as in the cycle of St. Stephen) or child-like and drawn in a naive manner (the deacons by the altar screen). The treatment of hair and beards and even the large eyes accentuated by horizontal lines drawn out from the outer corner disclose a certain air of provincial XIII century art. Sometimes certain parts of the faces are only indicated in drawing with hardly any colour at. The only relatively accomplished elements of his work are the draperies of the martyrs in the lowest register of frescoes. This painter worked together with another artist, not much more competent, whose rustic characters occasionally sparkle with unexpected freshness, like the bishops in the altar with free brushstrokes of white in their beards and hair and energetic red lines on their faces.

The wall paintings in the entrance tower portico are so different from those in the naos that we can say with certainty that they are the work of another group of artists. Moreover, they have no counterparts in Serbian art of king Milutin's time. The green shadows are either missing or just barely visible by the outlines of shapes, finely blended with the dominant light ochre used for rendering flesh. Draperies are different, too. The colours are bright, in pastel nuances, there is an abundant use of white which floods the almost transparent clothes in soft folds and their lightly fluttering edges with light. The figures are almost weightless, elongated and of entirely different proportions from those found in the naos and the parekklesia. Although their drawing is sometimes awkward, their stances unnatural, feet and hands too large, they are still remarkably beautiful – some of the martyrs of Sebaste are like that – enchantingly vigorous (the Christmas hymn) and even imbued with a sort of poetic realism (groups of figures surrounding king Milutin and archbishop Sava III). Although their basic qualities are typical of the early XIV century, the light colours, cool and pure nuances and the glass-like reflections of light on these frescoes hardly have any equal in the art of this period which makes them seem almost as an accidental incursion in its main current.

In Serbia, there is another ensemble of wall paintings created at about the same time and just as singular. At an undetermined date an unknown ktetor engaged a group of painters to decorate the interior of the church of the Virgin at Sušica near Skoplje. Their work is different from that of the artists who presumably came from Thessaloniki. To begin with, the iconography of the cycle of the Virgin, the choice of scenes and their treatment, is closer to solutions found in Constantinople than to those of other Serbian churches of the day. Could these closer relations with Constantinopolitan art account for the isolation of Sušica's frescoes in early XIV century Serbian painting? Still, in Constantinople itself there are no exact counterparts of these paintings and, anyhow, they certainly lag behind the mosaics and frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos and other churches of the Byzantine capital. The Virgin in the apse of Sušica, with Christ enclosed in a medallion on her chest, is rigid and its form is still reminiscent of the XIII century. The occasional faults in the drawing (Joachim in the Virgin Caressed by Her Parents or one of the apostles in the Ascension, with disproportional faces and sharp noses, or the holy doctors with round heads and small, awkwardly rendered ears) are concealed by the use of a good model. The artist relied on its compositional scheme and even went so far in repeating it that the Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool and the Water of Purification look almost identical, to the point of iconographic confusion. Dependence on solutions devised in earlier art is felt not only in the rendering of slightly stocky figures but also in the soft modelling of draperies, all in the manner of the XIII century. Maybe as a result of careful copying of older examples, some of the scenes in Sušica are well composed, like the Water of Purification, while the gestures of some of the figures are temperate and their stances more noble. The girls grouped behind the Virgin, present in several scenes, have preserved something of the classical beauty typical of monuments of the second half of the XIII century. They stand in threes with their heads gently inclined, wearing tastefully ornamented sleeveless dresses, their hair is carefully combed and there are wreaths upon their foreheads.

As opposed to the slightly heavy figures with broad, oval faces, the rendering of space in Sušica follows the novel tendencies of early XIV century art. Groups of figures in the foreground are always overshadowed by tall, jagged architectural forms in the background. This architecture is shown in inverse perspective, its colouring is bright, its protrusions and indentations carefully shaded and it is decorated with hanging curtains and imitations of marble revetment and friezes. Thus, in both dimension and form, it is an element as much importance as all the others in the picture. Representations of Old Testament tabernacles with gilded doors and precious ornaments are especially remarkable.



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Sušica, *The Virgin drinking the water of purification*, around 1310



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Angel,* 1309–1313



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Holy martyr*, 1309–1313

The colour scheme used in Sušica, with its harmonies of yellow, violet and green hues and just a touch of pink and light blue, represents another novelty. The strong contrasts encountered in some of the other monuments have been replaced with finely balanced harmonies accentuated by thick strokes of bright colour on the clothes. The best frescoes, above all those related to the Virgin's youth, feature accomplished, solid forms while the physical beauty of the sturdy young girls in the Virgin's entourage, dressed in meticulously rendered dresses and exhibiting well studied gestures, together with the ornamented walls and the lavish furnishings surrounding them, breathe the spirit of composed aristocratic art into the wall paintings of Sušica.[27]

This combination of traditional and new elements, with very elongated figures and architectural backdrops (Peć) and occasionally cautious adoptions of novelties (Žiča) or unexpected admixtures of old and new classicism (Sušica), represents an art typical of the Serbian milieu at the moment of its first contacts with Michael and Eutychios, the two painters who were going to transform its style. Žiča and Peć were instrumental in paving the way for their emergence in Serbia while the art of Sušica, turned towards entirely different models, remained a unique phenomenon in Serbian art of the age of king Milutin.

The Works of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios

Owing to the circumstance that Michael, a member of the famous Thessaloniki Astrapas family of artists, and Eutychios signed their works quite often, we are in a position to monitor, with a great deal of reliability, not only the path of their own creative development but also the artistic currents subsisting in Thessaloniki around the year 1300. If only we had any information regarding other Thessalonikan painters we would no longer have to face some of our substantial chronological dilemmas and we would be able to trace more convincingly and precisely the emergence and maturing of consummate works of art created in that city, or other places under its influence, by such strong and talented personalities as Michael Astrapas, Eutychios, Georgios Kalliergis and their anonymous contemporaries who cancelled the impact of the preceding generation of artists who produced, for example, the frescoes of Arilje.[28]

The earliest work of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios is the decoration of the Virgin Peribleptos at

Ohrid, accomplished in 1294/95. They left several signatures in this church. Along with their own, there are also signatures, or rather just initials, of other artists engaged in this endeavour. They prove that, on the one hand, they began working together very early on and, on the other, that, especially in the larger churches, they relied on the assistance of other painters. Already in the Virgin Peribleptos Michael and Eutychios displayed one of their essential characteristics – a careful monitoring of metropolitan trends, both Constantinopolitan and Thessalonikan, and an attentiveness in keeping up with their progressive currents. This Ohrid church also discloses that the two painters opted early on and fullheartedly for a new type of programme, iconography and aesthetics. Naturally, during the last decade of the XIII century they were still closely bound to the manner of work of the preceding generation of artists but their frescoes clearly indicated a willingness to introduce new themes and a different iconography while their new style already featured many elements of the leading trend in Byzantine art of the day. This combination of old and new traits is reflected in unexpected clashes of traditional forms and their new treatment, often very awkward and unrefined. Although the compositions, as well as the individual figures of saints, did retain their monumental framework and size, they were now, in the various scenes, filled with tightly packed groups of figures, bulky architectural backdrops and broad patches of landscape. The large figures are dressed in clothes arranged in powerful, angular folds with strong contrasts of light and shadow and the entire picture is dominated by warm colour tones, yellow, red, bright violet and, occasionally, light blue and green, applied in brisk strokes and without finer nuancing. Put together, the strong muscular physiques, the free brush strokes and the contrasting surfaces and lines produced remarkable characters, most often of heightened emotions. All in all, this art based on warm and pure colours, crude modelling, heavy figures and some, perhaps even intentional, awkwardness and deformity in the drawing, leaves an impression of untamed and unripened expression. In essence, it was only the final product of a wider phenomenon present in Byzantine art at the dawn of the XIV century marked by a tendency to discard the lifeless and timid style of the 1280's and the 1290's and replace it, in a forceful sweep, with a new, fresh and picturesque mode of expression.[29]

More than ten years passed between the completion of the Virgin Peribleptos and the appearance of the next work signed by Michael and Eutychios. Where



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
Communion with Bread, detail, 1309–1313



they worked in the meantime remains unknown because none of the works created between 1295 and 1310 can be attributed to them with assurance. It is also not certain what sort of art they came into contact with during that time and whether the significant changes which occurred in their work were inspired by painters from Constantinople or Thessaloniki. Their unquestionable talent, clearly displayed already in the Ohrid church, and their ability to adopt novelties surely lead them to accept the progressive trends in Byzantine painting. The precisely dated frescoes of the Thessaloniki parekklesion of St. Euthymios (1303), as well those of the church of St. Panteleimon in the same city, created probably during the first decade of the XIV century, indicate

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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
Last Supper, detail, 1309–1313

that significant changes were taking place on the art scene of Thessaloniki. The concepts which Michael and Eutychios had relied on in Ohrid only a few years earlier, just as a group of unknown artists had done in the Protaton, were being abandoned. Athletic figures were being reduced in size, artistic treatment was becoming increasingly refined and uniform, expressionism was vanishing from the faces, shapes in general were becoming more polished and colours cooler. This is surely the sort of art – stricter, calmer and agreeable – which inspired Michael and Eutychios to start treating their forms with greater care, imbuing them with a spirit of classicism and devoting more attention to all the details in a smaller-scale picture. The Serbian milieu certainly found this manner of work to be in agreement with its own notions. With eyes turned toward Byzantium, in particular after 1299, Serbia absorbed all the best the Empire had to offer and everything that bore the trademark of high aristocratic culture. It became a host to the best artists, both architects and painters, capable of working in the new spirit. The Serbian king, Milutin, did not come into contact with Michael and Eutychios through Ohrid – their stay in this town was apparently very brief, they seem to have left Ohrid shortly after 1295 – so that intermediaries should be sought elsewhere. Chilandar and it hegoumenos Sava could have played that role. It seems that in 1307 or 1308 Sava was invested as the bishop of Prizren and not long after that (in 1309) he was elected the archbishop of the Serbian church, the third in sequence with that name. At the time of his arrival to his still undecorated cathedral church, Sava may have brought with him from Thessaloniki or Mount Athos the painters with whose work he was probably well acquainted.[30]

There are no signatures of Michael and Eutychios on the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška or, perhaps, their signatures just haven't been preserved. Still, an inscription in the exonarthex of this church does prove that at least one of them took part in the works. Apart from the name of the master builder, Nicholas, this texts also mentions the name of protomagister Astrapas who decorated the church with wall paintings. Since the name Astrapas also appears in the Ohrid church of the Virgin Peribleptos, as the patronym of the painter Michael, and because he often signed his name as Μιχαὴλ τοῦ 'Αστραπᾶ, Μιχαὴλ 'Αστραπᾶ, 'Αστραπᾶ Μιχαὴλ or just Μιχαὴλ, we are undoubtedly dealing with the same person. Due to the fact that the inscription in Ljeviška is not a personal signature of the artist, but rather a sort of contracting document, the protomagister is referred to only by his family name which, for reasons unknown, seems to have been of greater importance to the ktetor. The Prizren inscription leads us to an invaluable conclusion – because he is referred to as protomagister, Michael Astrapas must have stood at the head of a larger group of painters with whom he collaborated. One of them was probably his faithful colleague Eutychios whose signature is sometimes found right next to that of Michael. A number of other painters could also have belonged to this group.[31]

Regardless of the occasional hesitancies as to whether the just mentioned painters did or did not actually work in Ljeviška, scholars have made a reliable assessment of the character and the most significant features of the frescoes on its walls.[32] Although they are unquestionably the work of many artists, these wall paintings bear the mark of protomagister Michael Astrapas who is responsible for their clever disposition within the complex interior as well as their general composition and each of its particular elements. This gives the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška the necessary uniformity which, in churches of that size, only the best of Astrapas's contemporaries managed to achieve – in the Protaton, for example. The protomagister of the Vatopedi katholikon, on the other hand, was not so successful. The two different approaches to the picture which are clearly visible in Ljeviška – one in the altar, the naos and the inner narthex and the other in the aisles and the exonarthex – appear mostly as a reflection of the commotions typical of the transitional period which had affected the work of the two renowned artists at precisely that time, in the years around 1310. The tall, staunch figures in the first zone of the naos, rigid in stance and representative in appearance, are a token of respect for the great art of the XIII century. They are also the best indicators of the direction which the creative path of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios had taken after the completion of the Peribleptos church at Ohrid, i.e. the direction of ever stricter classicism which toned down the high-pitch, robust shapes and strove towards more refined colour harmonies. The large figures remained just a framework for a balanced treatment based on tonal and colour nuancing, soft folds in the clothes and a new sort of ornamentation: instead of the unexpected flashes of light and the broad, well lighted surfaces, in Ljeviška we find gentler contrasts, noble and solemn stances, meticulously depicted luxurious and ornamented materials which imitate expensive fabrics. Thus, by looking back upon XIII century classicist models and, through them, upon a much older heritage, the painters of Ljeviška reached the classicist ideal of their own age

which found its expression in the new facial types, a different colour scheme and a novel manner of painting.

If the wall paintings in the naos disclose only a presumable link between Michael and Eutychios and XIII century art, those in the altar space are far more explicit in demonstrating the true origins of their art and the way it had transformed from what we have seen in the Peribleptos into a new style of painting. Most of the figures in the altar are also large, often of awkward gestures, and the faces of the elderly bishops in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy have retained a striking muscular structure, their forms are still segmented by a multitude of curved lines around the cheek bones and on foreheads, noses still fleshy, shadows sharp and angular and hair and beards rendered in carefully drawn out strokes. In the Communion and the Last Supper Christ and the apostles are still depicted in rigid stances, clashing colour contrasts are soothed by the brightness of the hues, and as expressive, non-classical characters. To a point, this style is reminiscent of the Ohrid frescoes and in the period around the year 1300 it also appears in Thessaloniki (St. Euthymios and St. Panteleimon), the Holy Apostles in Peć and Žiča. Certain faults in the drawing – elongated figures with thin legs and wide feet, unclassical facial types and sudden twists – are a part of the price which had to be paid for turning towards new, metropolitan models. They were compensated by a bright, uniform colour scheme based mostly on cooler tones which were to remain a significant component in the work of one of the two artists, either Michael or Eutychios.

This combination of fresh warm colours, at the same time consonant with the greens, and a new composition became predominant in other parts of this Prizren church, too, primarily in the parekklesion of St. Nicholas and the exonarthex. On the often restricted and unsuitable spaces of their walls and vaults there is a series of scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, a Tree of Jesse, a Last Judgement, a cycle dedicated to the Baptism as well as a number of individual figures of reduced dimensions, cleverly distributed and accompanied by picturesque landscapes and imaginative architectural backdrops. These contracted forms were rendered without a single error while drawing was entirely subordinated to colour which gave the picture an unusual warmth and transparency. Some of the frescoes in this church are virtual masterpieces and certainly number among the best achievements of Serbian and Byzantine art of the early XIV century: the Birth of St. Nicholas, with an extraordinary rendering of space and a fine harmony of yellows, reds and blues, parts of the Last Judgement with the sufferings of the sinners and animals which seem to be drawn out of an illustrated Byzantine natural history handbook or angels of intense colours reminiscent of oil paintings, picturesque soldiers and the masses to whom John is preaching on the Jordan, commandingly positioned within a landscape of warm colour tones, prophets in the Tree of Jesse or the illustration of the "Prophets from Above" hymn painted like brilliant miniatures, in a swift, assertive and agreeable manner, personifications of the New and the Old Testament of warm, diffused colour tones, noble gestures and an impeccable drawing of the Virgin and Child and the angels above the entrance as one of the most beautiful icons of the period. These and other works of art of this sort translated the poetic idiom into visual images of the highest artistic qualities. Creating them, Michael Astrapas and his associates entered their most mature, classicist period.

Although to a lesser measure, their uncommon talent and ability to rise to the very summit of artistic production of their time is felt also in other parts of Bogorodica Ljeviška. The superb drawing and the harmonious combination of cool tones and rosy spots encircling the cheekbones, used in rendering some of the prophets in the main dome or the characters in the Supper at Emmaus as well as the holy women in the lowest register, representations of angels, the Virgin and Christ (in particular that bearing the epithet of Guardian of Prizren), also disclose the capability of the Prizren masters to create exceptionally impressive pictures of impeccable drawing, fresh colours and a purity of expression. Moreover, they were supplemented with unobtrusive borrowings of symbols from the rich fonts of Byzantine tradition and even the heirloom of antiquity. Namely, the visual idiom in Ljeviška is enriched with details which don't always appear as iconographic necessities but certainly do add to the clarity and pictorial validity of the representations. Such is the nature of the angels and the personifications of Wisdom shown inspiring the prophets and evangelists, the rich embroidery on the clothes of the saints, holy women and members of the Nemanjid family, the imitations of hanging draperies with two-headed eagles, the representations of winged souls of the deceased, the personifications of the Sun and the Moon, Shadow and Truth or the Old and the New Testament. In an atmosphere of revived restoration of ancient forms and ideas, images of this kind speak in a language long forgotten but currently experiencing resurrection.[33] In Ljeviška, the powerful expressionism of the early works of Michael and Eutychios was transformed into shapes of

stricter structure and more sophisticated form which, however, still have an erratic quality about them. Nevertheless, the best of their works were completely cleared of any expressionism, figure proportions and the manner of their rendering were entirely humanised and a solemn peace was introduced to the geometric principles of composition and distribution of the weightless, picturesque architectural backdrops.

The erratic qualities of the Ljeviška frescoes, present no so much in the domain of style as on the level of artistic merit, can be explained in two ways: either as a result of the transformations in the handwriting of the two leading artists which could have taken place in the course of their work on the decoration of the vast wall surfaces of this Prizren church or as a product of the participation of their assistants who were entrusted with the painting of the less conspicuous parts. In any case, it has already been established that the better frescoes of Ljeviška include some of the most beautiful works of the best artist of the group: the individual figures of the Nemanjids, the frescoes in the main dome, apostles Peter and Paul, Christ the Guardian of Prizren and numerous figures of saints in the naos together with the Virgin with Child in the lunette of the main portal and some of the best frescoes in the exonarthex. In the large-scale compositions, the Dormition of the Virgin, for example, or in the altar and the exonarthex he worked alongside the other good painter whose creations display more pronounced contrasts in shape and colour, large but not always proportional figures of erratic artistic treatment. These features appear on some of the bishops in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and the Communion of the Apostles, as well as in the Last Supper, some of the frescoes in the north aisle, the naos and perhaps even the Baptism in the narthex, which makes them all less refined and occasionally even crude in expression. It seems that we shall not be mistaken if we identify the two artists as Michael Astrapas and Eutychios. They are the ones responsible not only for introducing the wall paintings of Bogorodica Ljeviška to the line of development which was to enter its next stage at Nagoričino but also for bringing them closer to the contemporary art of Thessaloniki, that of the parekklesion of St. Euthymios or the church of St. Panteleimon, in both colour and form and the use of similar facial and figure types, compositions, landscapes and architectural backdrops. The other artists of the group working in Bogorodica Ljeviška, and there were at least two more of them, did not have either the inspiration or the skill of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios. Still, they can not be denied talent and an ability to adapt to the manner of painting of the protomagister and the sort of art formulated around 1310. The painter who produced the frescoes on the walls of the upper storey of the narthex and the parekklesia, now badly damaged, did use contracted forms treated in accordance with the new principles and concepts of plasticity but his paintings still lack grace and nobility in both their colour scheme and their simplified compositions. His companion, who worked mostly in the aisles, had similar skills but different tendencies. The remaining fragments of the Ecumenical Councils disclose a rigid drawing, and deep, dark green shadows on the faces although his frescoes are not without an occasional flash of pure, bright colour and good drawing.[34]

Viewed as a whole, the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška represent the most decisive breakthrough of mature, classical, Palaiologan style into Serbian art and bear the imprint of the creative, novel and inquisitive approach of Michael Astrapas and his associates. Although we are denied any information regarding their work between 1294/95 and 1310, we are amply rewarded with data concerning their subsequent creations which allows us to follow the course of their development practically from year to year. We could well say that this is truly a unique situation in the history of both Serbian and Byzantine medieval art – the signed works of Michael and Eutychios, or those unquestionably attributed to them, make it easier for us to follow the ideas, transformations and manner of work of artists of their era in general. Once in Serbia, and Prizren was most probably their first stop there, Michael and Eutychios tied all their work to the new environment. They adapted fully to its spiritual and artistic climate and grew to respect its tradition and ideology, expressed through the images of Serbian state and church officials and most venerated saints as well as through a use of the Serbian language and alphabet, while employing their skills and talent to boost its efforts to measure up to the most prominent cultural centres of the Mediterranean world of the day. Keeping in mind this role they played in Serbian art of the early XIV century, it seem less important to find a precise answer to the question whether Michael and Eutychios had closer relations with the Court or the Church because both institutions were tightly interconnected, harmonious and equally responsible for nurturing ecclesiastical art. Should prevalence in this matter be assigned to the Court, proof could be found in the fact that these two painters worked mostly in churches which benefited from the patronage of king Milutin

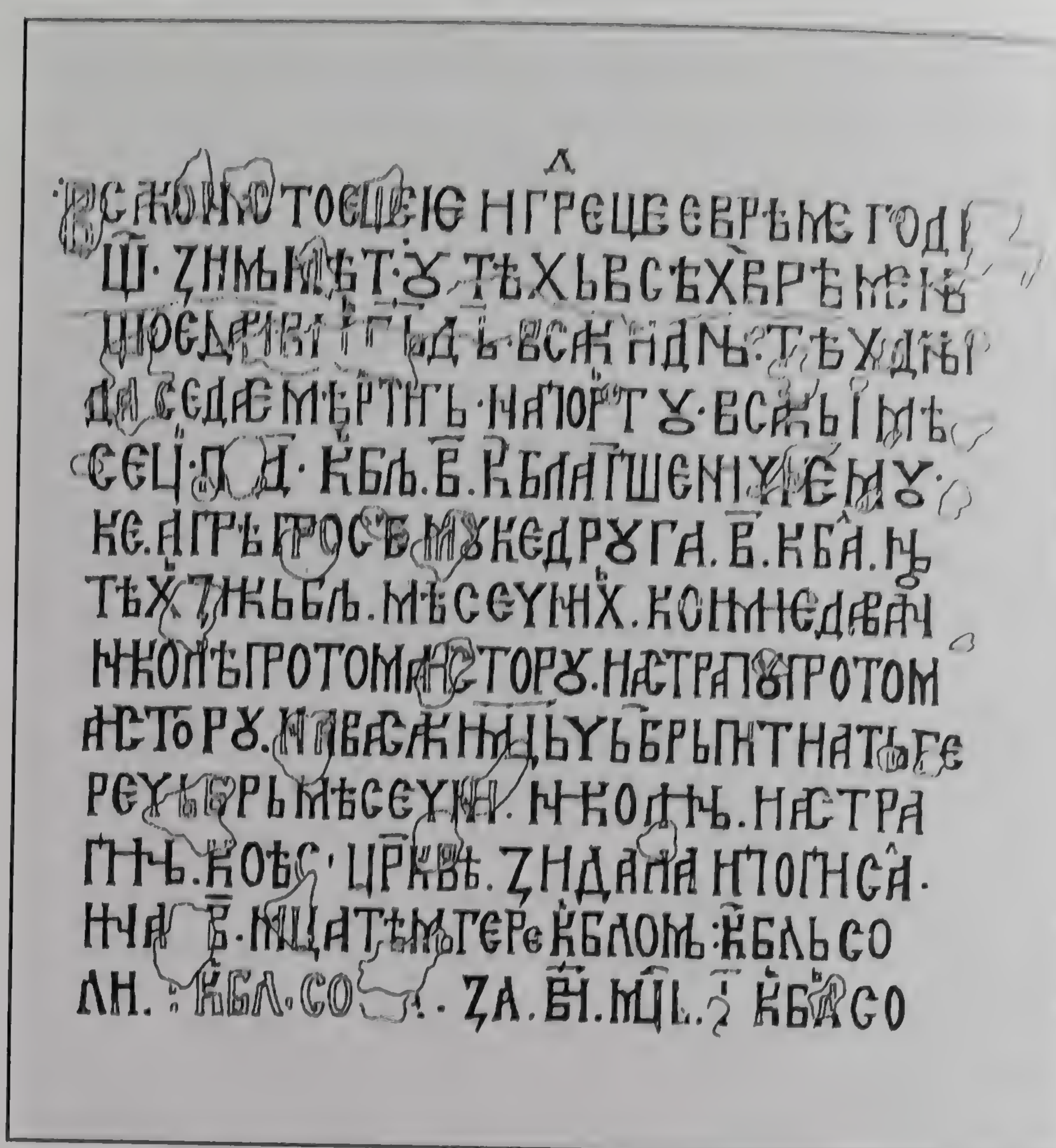
and that their engagement in Serbia came to an end approximately at the time of the king's death. Still, it should also be kept in mind that, in his lifetime, king Milutin was certainly the greatest and practically the sole patron of the arts and that following his death (1321) there was a brief recession in the scope of artistic production, during the 1320's, at which time not much was being built in Serbia. On the other hand, the business of raising and decorating churches was entrusted to the care of church prelates, during Milutin's time they included archbishops Jevstatije II, Sava III and Nikodim, all of Athonite background and well educated, certainly proficient in the Greek language and culture. In these qualities they were matched by their contemporaries positioned as bishops and hegoumenoi of prominent monasteries, capable of choosing the right artists to build and decorate their churches.

It could be that, right after their work was done in Bogorodica Ljeviška, the two artists, Michael and Eutychios, went straight to the restored church of St. Prochor of Pčinja in order to decorate it with wall paintings. Even if their presence there is now unquestionable, as a result of the recently discovered and published signature of Michael on the shield of St. Demetrios, there are still many enigmas tied to the date and the identity of the ktetor of this restoration. One of the bricks in the north wall, similar to those of Bogorodica Ljeviška, associates the raising of this church with the bishop of Prizren and later Serbian archbishop Sava III, while the frescoes could have been painted shortly after he assumed the archbishopric throne in 1309. Except for the identity of their author, the characteristics of the meagre remains of the wall paintings do not reveal much about the possible stage in his career to which they could belong. The large figures and the thick, free strokes of colour which appear on St. Demetrios, the archangels, St. Prochor and on several spots on the north wall and in the apse indicate that they could have been created immediately after the frescoes of Ljeviška and certainly prior to 1316 when figures of reduced dimensions, uniform brush strokes and thin layers of paint began to prevail in the work of Michael Astrapas.[35]

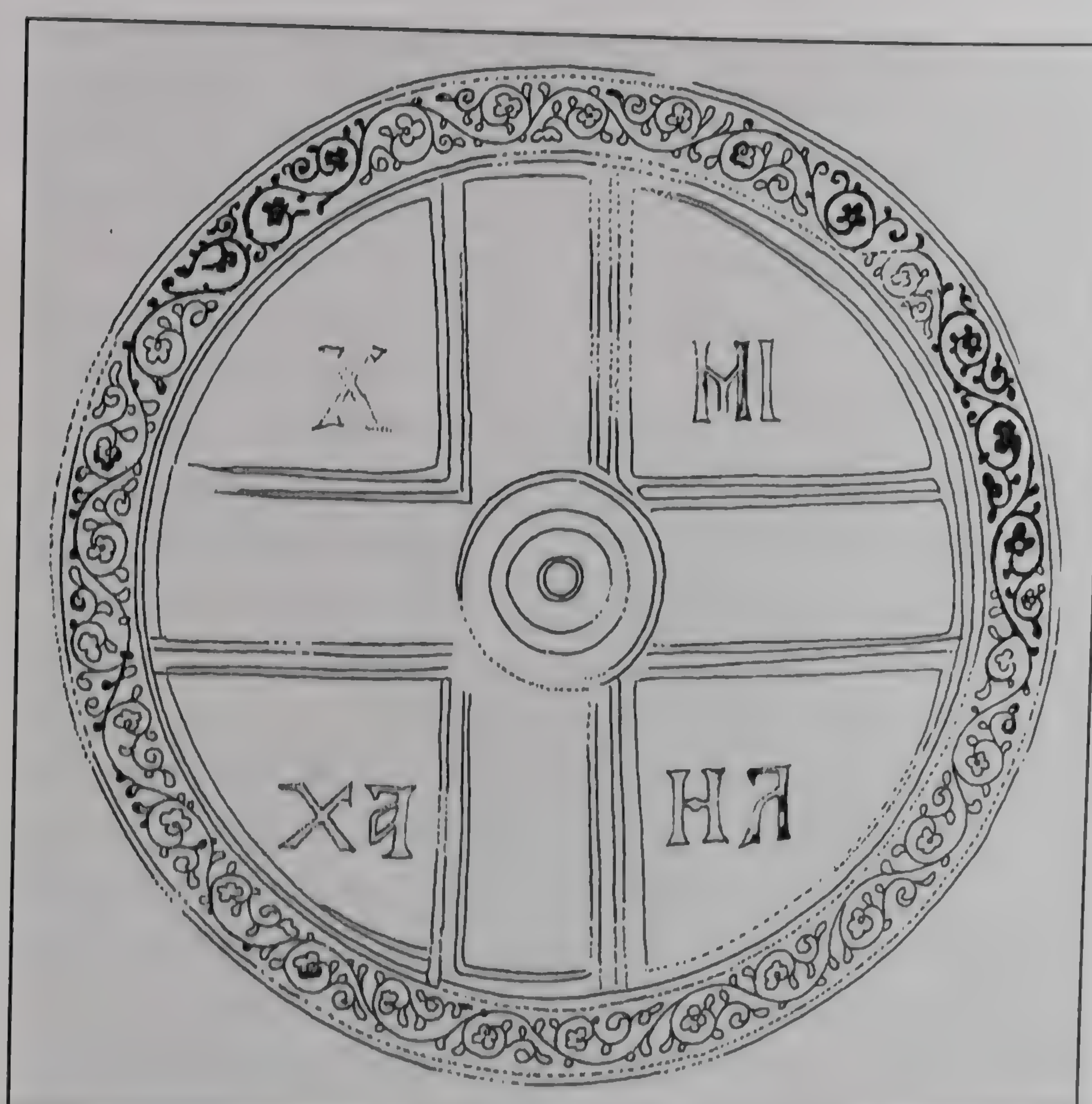
Although there are several signed works of Michael and Eutychios from the last five or six years of king Milutin's life, it is not always easy to ascertain their lineup and offer precise dating. The exact years are recorded only in the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričino where work was in progress during 1316/17 and ended in 1317/18, most likely in the fall of 1317.[36] On the other hand, transformations in the work of Michael and Eutychios were quick and deep so that each church represents a link in a long chain of changes and a special stage in the course of their development. This is exactly the source of hesitancy in attributing an unsigned work to them and even more in attempting to establish the order of emergence of certain ensembles. One thing is unquestionable though – from one church to the next, from year to year, they drifted farther and farther away from the manner of painting they exhibited in the Virgin Peribleptos (1294/95) which marked their powerful appearance on the art scene. Finally, a quarter of a century later, their signatures and an occasional old fashioned feature, remaining, as if by accident, in a completely changed pictorial structure, are the only testimonies of connection with their earliest work. Many of their creations have been preserved to date, in fact, more than those of any other artist of their time in either Serbia or the rest of the Byzantine commonwealth. These works testify that they kept in stride with the most progressive contemporary artistic trends or lagged behind them by just an insignificant touch. In Ohrid they painted in a manner typical of all the other artists who strove to transform the desiccated, worn out organism of late XIII century art. In doing so they were even fiercer and less restrained than some of their colleagues from Thessaloniki and Constantinople. However, as the initially powerful expression calmed down in and around Thessaloniki, gradually turning toward cooler colour tones and smaller picture dimensions, the art of Michael Astrapas and the group of painters gathered around him underwent great changes. Some of them we can only conjecture because there is no monument from the period between 1295 and 1310 which can be attributed to these artists with certainty. Upon their arrival to Prizren at around that time, Michael Astrapas and a group of his assistants made the best of the lessons they got from the great transformations which were under way in Thessaloniki, the city of their origin, and Constantinople. They fused those examples with their own skills and knowledge, tamed their drawing and cleansed their bright and sonorous colours. Although they were not entirely consistent in this matter, the results were not chaotic. Along with large figures of unattractive faces they painted compositions reduced in scale and tightly packed with charming characters, crude and sharp forms were being abandoned in favor of fine nuancing and soft transitions from warm to cool colour tones, linearism was withdrawing from the saints' noble countenances and only occasionally it was left to dance vivaciously on their faces, the frescoes of Prizren were filled with personages dressed in

fine clothes and placed in seemingly realistic and meticulously rendered surroundings dotted with numerous reminiscences of ancient Hellenistic models. We know nothing of the activities of Michael Astrapas following his completion of the fresco decoration of Bogorodica Ljeviška. Could it be that, as in the sepulchral church of St. Prochor of Pčinja, he continued to execute commissions of Serbian ktetors or did he spend more time in his own home town? Whatever the answer, it is definitely beyond any doubt that at that time he and his associates came into contact with Constantinopolitan art, in the capital itself or through imported works and Constantinopolitan artists active in Thessaloniki, like those who produced the mosaics in the church of the Holy Apostles in 1312–1315. These artists could have been the source of the new church decoration schemes and even the ready made iconographic formulas as well as the general classicist air and the colouration which were to emerge in the subsequent works of Michael and his group. Although careful observers of the better works of their contemporaries, Michael and Eutychios were never mere imitators – they strove to enrich their art with new solutions and succeeded in transforming it and creating their personal interpretation of early XIV century classicism.

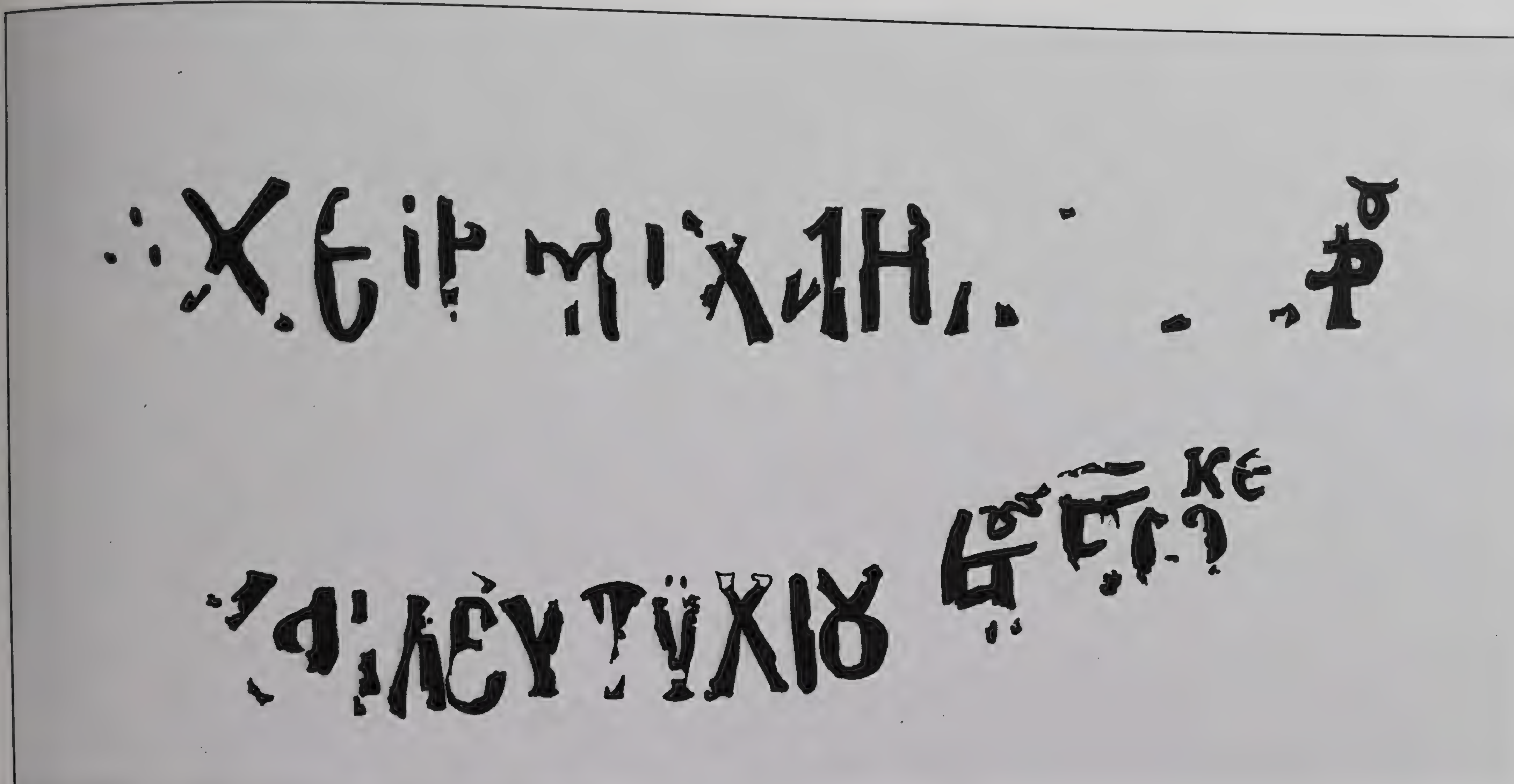
A great deal of previous experience, in particular that gained from Bogorodica Ljeviška, together with the new knowledge, the source of which can not be precisely determined, are responsible for the creation of another successful ensemble of wall paintings by Michael and Eutychios, this time at Nagoričino. They accommodated hundreds of compositions and thousands of images in a building of complex architectural features. At the same time, the numerous compositions which differed from their earlier Prizren frescoes in the appearance of both the human figure and its surroundings, in style fluctuation and quality, in a subdued and more uniform colouration, blended finely into one another.[37] Although the Nagoričino frescoes are very close to some of the best contemporary Byzantine works, they still impart occasional flashbacks of the early years of Michael and Eutychios and their energetic and unpolished style of those days with its expressive drawing and raw colours. This becomes evident once the first impression of serenity and order sets in and the frescoes are examined with greater scrutiny and considered in view of the chronological sequence and stylistic development of the works produced by the two artists between 1295 and 1317 and later. Although iconographically and visually greatly altered in comparison with their earlier creations, the



134
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
Inscription with the name of the protomagister Astrapas, 1309–1313



135
St. Prochor of Pčinja,
Inscription with the name of the painter Michael, around 1315



136
Staro Nagoričino, *Signature of the painter Michael on the shield of St. Alexander and the signatures of the painters Michael and Eutychios on the chiton of St. Theodore Teron*, 1315–1317

Nagoričino wall paintings are precisely the indicators of the direction their art was taking.

They show how closely related Michael and Eutychios were to the heritage of older art but at the same time how they abandoned this tradition gradually and transformed its visual features. Judging by what has remained of the Great Feasts in Nagoričino it is obvious that they represent an interesting mixture of forms from the early stages in their career and solutions they found in the new art. The Entry into Jerusalem, for example, represents the third phase in the line of development of this scene in Palaiologan art with its major milestones in the Virgin Peribleptos (1294/95) and the Holy Apostles of Thessaloniki (1312–1315). The tension typical of these Thessalonikan mosaics was eased up by subduing the line while reminiscences of the Peribleptos enriched the setting with a distant, drawn out landscape. At the same time, simpler solutions, with figures of stressed movement in the foreground, replaced the earlier confusion of picture planes. In general, on most of the scenes in Nagoričino, including the Entry into Jerusalem, the Dormition and others, things happened as the artists went along, as a combination of incidental occurrences, which gives these compositions an air of directness and even a certain charm of improvisation. The rules of any classicist art trend – a reduction in the number of figures and their careful disposition within a composition based on geometric structure and symmetry – were observed only partly in the case of Nagoričino and seem to have affected the Deposition from the Cross, the Supper at Emmaus or the Communion of the Apostles. In the Mocking of Christ, for example, a balanced compositional scheme was filled with a large number of figures. In other cases, classicist solutions were attained by harmonising the masses of the architectural backdrops and the landscape.

Compared with the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška, the wall paintings of Nagoričino reveal that their authors had finally made a decision to paint slim figures of reduced dimensions and to place them in surroundings marked by a multitude of space indicators. The features of this new style of Michael and Eutychios are just as easily spotted in the beautifully painted cycle of the Resurrection Appearances. Beginning with the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, a subject to which these painters devoted great attention both before and after Nagoričino (in St. Prochor of Pčinja or Gračanica), emotions are constantly heightened – from the moment the myrrh bearing women inform the apostles of Christ's resurrection and the hurried



137
Staro Nagoričino, *St. Georgios Gorgos*, 1315–1317



138
Staro Nagoričino, *St. Benjamin*, 1315–1317

pace of the disciples following Christ to Emmaus to the moment when, at the empty table at Emmaus, the rhythm becomes tranquil and the scene of Christ breaking up the bread is given a solemn, liturgical mien. Still, Michael and Eutychios did not remain untouched by the taste for storytelling typical of early XIV century painters, the tendency to amass large numbers of figures and many picturesque details and to introduce prologues and epilogues explaining the depicted events. In Nagoričino this is most evident in the details related to the Sea of Galilee. The many years of experience and the emulation of the best works from Thessaloniki and Constantinople provided a reliable guideline for the two artists which made it possible for their talent and skill to reach classicist forms. Thus, in Nagoričino, pictures of reduced format were filled with a different sort of imagery, with meticulously rendered details of interiors, clothes or weapons which would occasionally impart an ornamental feeling, as in some of the scenes of the Passion cycle and the cycle of St. George. This impression is only enhanced by the architectural backdrop, always rendered in the background, decorated with ornamental patterns and a series of arches, openings, niches, porticoes and columns, vellums and annexes of undefined structure. In Nagoričino, namely, a single horizontal wall decorated with cornices of gesims, small corbels and openings runs continually in the background of all the episodes of the undivided cycles. Particular events within the cycles are set apart by especially highlighted portions of this wall used also to place emphasis on the conceptual focus of the picture. For these reasons the architectural backdrop rises to great heights, overtowering the human figure and practically closing up the scene completely. The best artists of the day, and often even Michael and Eutychios themselves, were careful to avoid such a treatment of architectural backdrops. In Nagoričino, as in Ljeviška, these two artists relied on Hellenistic and Early Christian models in draping the openings with curtains and filling the facades and lunettes with figural reliefs and grisaille masks. They must have had some works from Thessaloniki or Constantinople looming before their eyes as pre-eminent models not only while they were painting these buildings with marble floors, porticoes filled with figures and decorated with ornaments but also while they were working on the quite beautiful landscapes which number among the most accomplished works of their kind in late Byzantine painting. The rolling hills are covered with trees and lush grass (like Gethsemane in the



139
Staro Nagoričino, *Third Denial of Peter*, 1315–1317



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Staro Nagoričino, *Torture of St. George by stone*, 1315–1317

Dormition), rendered in green and violet, with darkened slopes (as in the Road to Calvary and the Ascent of the Cross), shimmering rocks in the background and cypress trees. These elements were consistently used by the two artists for the first time in Nagoričino. They also appear in other major monuments of Palaiologan art – fine parallels are to be found in the Chora in Constantinople – which in itself is an indication that in their later works Michael and Eutychios approached quite closely the manner of painting of Constantinopolitan artists.

In comparison with Bogorodica Ljeviška, Nagoričino displays a different, more uniform treatment of the human figure, the drawing is more solid and the colouration based on subdued hues more experienced. The frescoes in the upper registers of the naos are closest to those of Ljeviška, the Pantokrator in the main dome, for example, is dressed in a light violet hiton and a blue himation, his striking face is still predominated by a rosy colour which gradually passes into red on the cheekbones, his forehead and cheeks lit by a strong light. The format of other figures in the upper registers of the church is also large and they present most clearly the spirit of the transitional phase of the artists from Bogorodica Ljeviška: the prophet Joel in the main dome and Abraham, Solomon or the evangelist Luke in the corner domes are depicted with a greater degree of plasticity and with more pronounced shadows. In the cycles located in the upper parts of the naos one can still come across faces painted in a hurried and even crude manner, their drawing rather unpolished and their appearance far from classical – for example those of Luke and Cleopas telling the apostles of their encounter with Christ at Emmaus as well as those of the personages in the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, some parts of the cycle of St. George on the south wall or certain days of the calendar. Straying from a fine and polished manner of painting is most frequent in the lateral spaces flanking the altar. There we find an awkward rendering of architecture, large figures, occasionally with anatomical deformations, thick contours and broad, dull surfaces. It is therefore possible that the cycle of St. Nicholas is the work of one of the assistants of Michael and Eutychios. The frescoes in the prothesis are far better and, in certain instances (the Blessings of the Three Priests or Zachary Praying Before the Rods of the Suitors), irresistibly reminiscent of the first works of these two painters from the Ohrid church of the Peribleptos.

The painters of Nagoričino produced some far



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Staro Nagoričino, *Trial before Annas*, 1315–1317



142
Staro Nagoričino, *Trial before Pilate*, detail, 1315–1317

more successful and progressive paintings in the lowest register of the church: the half-figures of the bishops have an air of portraiture about them, the authors of the liturgy are treated in a more serene manner, the brush strokes are more uniform and finely blended. Hence, in comparison with the earlier works of Michael and Eutychios, those from the Peribleptos or Ljeviška, the wall paintings of Nagoričino are subdued in expression while the striking plasticity of flesh is softened. Only the most prominent parts of the faces have retained the thin, curved strokes of reddish ochre. In addition to that, in the altar of Nagoričino Michael and Eutychios turned towards a free use of broad strokes of white, blue and brown which they employed in the modellation of hair and beards as they had already done at Ljeviška, only now within a picture of considerably changed structure. Similar transformations appear on some of the frescoes in the naos. The stern and energetic face of patriarch Jacob, for example, is still reminiscent of the Peribleptos but the colouration is cooler and his physical strength transformed into a focused spiritual expression. The holy warriors in the naos are even more explicit in indicating the direction which the late works of Michael and Eutychios were taking – these handsome young men of elegant physiques, slim legs and slender waists, graceful gestures and fancy poses, their weapons and clothes rendered in the most meticulous manner, could well be included in the chosen circle of supreme creations of early XIV century classicism. The faces of the young holy warriors and martyrs, Demetrios, Procopios and Orestes, James the Persian, Georgios Gorgos and Eugraphos, are depicted in the manner of icon painting, with broad surfaces of pale pink and light green. Fine transitions in colouring were achieved by placing coats of different colours one upon the other while the bright parallel strokes on the neck, arms, below the eyes and on the forehead only underlined the general effect of plasticity. After many years of experience and adaptation to the leading trend in Byzantine art, Michael Astrapas and Eutychios entered their most mature phase which overlapped chronologically with the emergence of classicism in early XIV century Constantinopolitan painting.

The frescoes of Kraljeva crkva at Studenica represent the zenith of their creation and were apparently painted immediately after the completion of those in Nagoričino.[38] Reminiscences of the Peribleptos and the still strong influence of the Prizren Ljeviška church, detected in Nagoričino, are almost entirely faded in Studenica. The unquestionably rich experience of



143
Staro Nagoričino, *St. James the Persian*, 1315–1317



144
Staro Nagoričino, *Descent from the Cross*, 1315–1317



Michael and Eutychios was transformed and ennobled while, on the level of artistic merit, it almost equalled the mosaics and frescoes of the Chora in Constantinople (1315–1320). In this tiny Studenica church, the programme of which was abridged in comparison with Nagoričino, Michael and Eutychios focused on the pictorial image as a pure work of art. Lifting off the burden of excessive narration, they fashioned it as an icon, breathing classicism into the stances, movements and expressions of the figures and carefully blending colours into one another in order to create a serene, solemn and at the same time serious atmosphere. Every single element in Studenica is imbued with order and tranquillity and nothing is excessive, aggressive or

145
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Meeting of Joachim and Anne*, 1318–1319

146
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Birth of the Virgin*, 1318–1319



accidental. With the frescoes of Kraljeva crkva there emerged once again in Serbia, after fifty years, a work of perfect expression, poised and unhampered by stylistic vacillation.[39] Sporadically, it had been heralded by some of the frescoes from Bogorodica Ljeviška and even more by the wall paintings of Nagoričino, especially those from the lower registers of the church. The style in which they finished off the decoration of Nagoričino, Michael and Eutychios transferred to Studenica, unfolding it on all the walls and perfecting the final touches in its fashioning.

The experience of the artists is displayed here by the ease with which they distributed the figures in the compositions and enriched the scenes with citations from Hellenistic heritage. Still, under closer scrutiny these frescoes do reveal an occasional ineptness of the painters, in some of the more coarse profiles or awkwardly rendered parts of the anatomy, but at the same time they also include such details as the picturesque gesture of infant Christ in the Nativity, the gracefulness with which the young girls in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple hold their candles or the natural movement of evangelist Matthew as he dips his quill into the inkwell. Following the custom of their day, here, too, the painters introduced a large number of personages to the scenes and enriched them with landscape and architectural backdrops, in the form which they had devised in their earlier works,



147
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, detail, 1318–1319



148
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, detail 1318–1319



Nagoričino in particular. The best example of their utterly artistic approach to the composition is the Birth of the Virgin – a painting which, in its different strata, reveals the presence of antique heritage, customs adopted from court ceremonies and personal experience of the artists all assembled in a new manner into a whole of the highest artistic qualities. The architectural backdrop in Kraljeva crkva is always rendered in inverse perspective, with no single vantage point and without the massive constructions which appeared in the earlier works of Michael and Eutychios. Naturally, in accordance with the essence of Byzantine pictorial representation, this architecture was not intended to convey the actual appearance of a particular building

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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva,
Christ, St. Joachim and St. Anne with the Virgin, 1318–1319

but rather to close off the scene and suggest movement by the way it extended – as in the Communion of the Apostles and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple – or accentuate either a group of figures or just a single person by its rhythmical upsurging. In Studenica, this architectural backdrop was pierced with openings and surmounted by elegant balconies with railings, open porticoes with slender columns and vellums. Different picture planes were achieved and a third dimension implicated by the presence of low cut walls while the entire picture was finished off by cypress trees shimmering against a dark blue sky, like those which Michael and Eutychios had begun to paint in their previous works, more precisely – beginning with Nagoričino.

As they had already done in that church, in Studenica these two artists put all the characters in movement, only here their pace is less hurried, rather moderate and solemn and their gestures more natural and gentle. Hence, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple assumes the appearance of a ceremonial procession of young girls approaching the Temple and the High Priest in stately rhythm. The girls of the Virgin's entourage in the centre of the composition seem to have paused for a moment, engaged in elegant conversation, communicating with one another simply by an exchange of meaningful glances and a gentle inclination of the head so that their slow movement and reserved gestures give the impression that they had been copied from Greek or Roman reliefs. All in all, the general atmosphere of temperance and the sheer beauty of artistic treatment represent the highest qualities of these Studenica frescoes while the contrasts which were still occasionelly present in Nagoričino are entirely abandoned. The warm, sonorous tones are harmonised with the deep and cool nuances while transitions in colouring are achieved either by using white or a colour which contains both adjoining tones. The especially beautifully rendered youths have become a symbol of Studenica's art and, indeed, the young girls in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, with their round and chubby faces of perfect features, resemble angels and are even more charming than their counterparts from Nagoričino.

The intimate atmosphere of the church interior is practically transferred to the wall paintings of clearly defined themes and small dimensions. Everything about them is carefully and thoroughly executed – the human figures, the landscape, the architecture, elements of interior fittings, the adornments on the clothes and even the ornaments. They disclose not only an emulation of X and XI century models but also the presence of Hellenistic tradition, obvious in the renderings of the evangelists on the pendentives, the Annunciation to Anne or the Birth of the Virgin which are either surrounded by or filled with grisaille representations of lion masks, Oceanus and human figures in the form of embossed ornaments of the painted architecture which resemble the actual reliefs that once adorned Roman buildings and their entrances.

Some of the most beautiful paintings in this church are located in the lowest register. King Milutin, for example, is shown carrying a large model of his church, dressed in a richly ornamented divetesion and sporting a jewelled crown on his head while his face, in accordance with Byzantine conceptions adopted in Serbian society, differs from those of the saints and is painted almost exclusively in pink and ochre, as seen already in Ljeviška and Nagoričino. The king's personal features are captured quite precisely, his long, narrow nose, pressed lips, eyebrows and eyelids drooping much more than in Nagoričino while his beard seems to be the same length although with more greys. Thus, the representative stance and the multitude of authentically registered features make this one of the best portraits of king Milutin.

Although these frescoes from Studenica give the impression of uniformity in style and artistic quality, it is quite easy to divide them into two different groups created, respectively, by the two artists, however unusual this may seem after so many years of co-operation between Michael and Eutychios. One of them painted the enthroned Virgin in the apse, the Communion of the Apostles, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, the two final scenes in the cycle of the Virgin, the Ascension and the individual figures in the altar space, as well as several prophets in the dome above the naos (among them Isaiah, Elijah and Habakkuk), the evangelists Matthew and John on the pendentives, most of the half-figures of the Old Testament righteous on the perimeter of the dome, the Meeting of Joachim and Anne, the Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Dormition, almost all the images in the windows and saints in the lowest register – all in the naos. The other artist produced the Celestial Liturgy, the evangelists Luke and Mark, most of the half-figures and single figures on the north wall, the Baptism, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, the first three scenes of the cycle of the Virgin and also the Caressing of the Infant Mary and the Blessings of the Three Priests. Some of the frescoes – the Nativity, Transfiguration and Descent into Hades – he painted

together with the first and better artist, probably the protomagister of the group, who worked on the larger and more conspicuous wall surfaces. His handwriting is easily recognised: he used green for underpainting, illuminating it in all the accentuated spots with a light ochre while finishing off his paintings with strokes of brown, red and white applied with a thin brush. Sometimes, as in the Dormition, he would make a series of dots next to a nose or use a nervous reddish line in the modellation of facial features, typical of all the frescoes of Michael and Eutychios. The other artist was not quite as good as the first because he was not successful in harmonising warm and cool colour tones – instead, he would rather use a reddish ochre as the basis and then create strong contrasts with broad olive shadows. He preferred yellow, green and pale violet while linearism, or rather intertwined lines play a more prominent role in his drawing. He was obviously slower in abandoning the habits of his youth, although he did strive to model his manner of painting and the appearance of his images on the works of the leading artist of the group.[40]

In short, the rise of Michael and Eutychios reached its zenith in Studenica, the elements of the transitional style (large figures, awkward stances and colour contrasts), which, despite all transformations, persisted in their work all the way to Nagoričino, were finally cleared away. In Studenica, the drawing was cleansed of all ineptness, fresh, finely rounded youthful faces became predominant, colours were more harmonious and there was a gentle preference for cooler tones, composition was subjected to the rules of symmetry and a balance of masses was established. Considering the fact that, at that time, the work of Constantinopolitan artists in the Chora and that of Georgios Kalliergis in Veria was very similar to theirs, with the frescoes they produced in Studenica, Michael and Eutychios joined the ranks of some of the best painters of the second decade of the XIV century.

It seems that right after Studenica the two artists began working on the imposing task of decorating yet another church raised by king Milutin – Gračanica, the see of the bishops of Lipljan. Once again, after Nagoričino, they faced hundreds of square meters of wall surfaces in this church of harmonious but complex architectural features, with five domes, a narthex, an ambulatory and parekklesia flanking the altar, which is why, for the most part, they repeated the programme of Nagoričino, thus only underlining the similarities between these two churches. Hence, Kraljeva crkva, with its small, harmonious and well lighted space, and not so complex subject matter, seems to be o[illegible] short pause in the artistic production of Michael A[illegible]pas and Eutychios which enabled them to concen[illegible] more on pictorial issues such as a balanced comp[illegible]tion, clear colours and attractive drawing. Despite [illegible] fact that there are no preserved signatures in Gra[illegible]nica, its fresco decoration is unquestionably the w[illegible] of these two artists – although here, too, as in oth[illegible] cases, they certainly had assistants – as indicated by a frequent appearance of solutions and specific details typical of their earlier art. The already noted tendency of Michael and Eutychios to transform their work from monument to monument, although each church remained an individual, clearly defined facet of their common path of development, resulted in Gračanica in the emergence of many new solutions. A change of painting technique contributed considerably to this phenomenon. They relied less and less on incising the drawing into the mortar base and abandoned the pure fresco technique while introducing the use of glue.[41]

Frescoes in the upper parts of the church represent the true link between Gračanica and the earlier churches of Milutin's era – the further down the artists went the more they changed their manner of painting. The connection with Kraljeva crkva or Nagoričino is noticeable immediately in the skill with which the artists tackled the vast and complex church interior and the numerous identical formulations in both iconography and style. Together with the altogether new, there are details adopted from previous works of Michael and Eutychios, even as distant as those from the Virigin Peribleptos of Ohrid, although these reminiscences are usually limited to the outward appearance. The constant tendency of these artists and their contemporaries to create complex pictorial images persisted in Gračanica, too, and brought about substantial iconographic changes to the standard formulations of certain themes. The introduction of a large number of figures and their new disposition resulted in an altered structure and appearance of the Marriage at Cana, Raising of Lazarus, Descent into Hades, Dormition and other scenes. These changes did not always affect the very core of the traditional image but, within the framework of different concepts, they did result in new and interesting creations. Symmetry, an important means in modelling classicist compositions, was much more deftly applied in the decoration of Kraljeva crkva while in Gračanica it was never as prominent and appeared mostly in the scenes which were constantly before the eyes of the faithful, such as Wisdom Hath Builded Her House and the Hospitality of Abraham, on





either side of the apse. Compositions such as these two, with carefully arranged figures and a harmonious relation of the architectural masses in the background, are to be found in other parts of the church as well, particularly in the cycle of Christ's Teachings, the Last Supper, Transfiguration and elsewhere. The Descent into Hades, the Raising of Lazarus or the Dormition of the Virgin show that in Gračanica the two artists achieved best results in larger-scale compositions involving a multitude of figures. They were skilled in weaving numerous details into quite compact wholes through the use of spatial and compositional qualities of architectural backdrops and landscape and by differentiating the hierarchy of personages not only

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Gračanica, *St. John the Prodromos,* 1319–1321

151
Gračanica, *Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria*, 1319–1321



152
Gračanica, *Wisdom Hath Builded Her House*, 1319–1321



153
Gračanica, *Sts. Eustathios and Mercurios*, 1319–1321

according to their importance but also by the use of purely artistic means. In the monumentally conceived Descent into Hades, for example, they placed Christ in the very centre of the composition and arranged the other elements of the picture symmetrically around him so that they appear to radiate from the conceptual focus of the painting. Although a similar scheme was used in creating the large-scale Dormition involving nearly a hundred figures, this scene is still largely based on earlier experiences of the two artists.

There are also other successful compositions among the multitude of frescoes in Gračanica. Some are based on the diagonal scheme – the Raising of Lazarus or Agony in the Garden – others on a gradation of picture planes (the Denial of Peter), a circular distribution of figures around a table (Marriage at Cana), their pyramidal arrangement in pairs or groups of threes (Descent from the Cross) or tight connection with the architectural backdrop and landscape as in the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple or Christ Before Annas. At the same time, in Gračanica, as in older art, each scene was painted as a separate picture, framed either by an ornamental band, a red border or an actual physical, architectural frame, but still remained conceptually and iconographically attached to a certain cycle or a broader circle of themes.

The classicism which pervaded Serbian art was equally present in other frescoes of Gračanica. Picturesque scenes, an occasional dramatic accent or pathos, fluttering draperies and unencumbered stances permeated the picture. In the Last Judgement the nude figures of both men and women are anatomically perfectly correct and the animals rendered with a sense of naturalism. The Vision of Peter of Alexandria is sophisticated, there is a transparent loincloth wrapped around the naked body of Christ. The faces of the Virgin, the angels and the youthful saints are often beautiful, well groomed and attractive. Meanwhile, the faces of the prophets in the dome, the evangelists, Old Testament righteous or John the Prodromos in the apse have retained the treatment seen in earlier works of Michael and Eutychios – in order to enhance the effect of plasticity and to stress their expressiveness they are segmented into facets. Still, together with such aristocratic, beautiful and striking characters, in Gračanica, and especially in the altar space, we also find plebeian types, lacking any academism or formal beauty.

A gradual subduing of the colour scheme, its growing uniformity and a gentle predominance of cooler nuances – which we can trace in the work of Michael and Eutychios beginning with Bogorodica Ljeviška and through Nagoričino and Kraljeva crkva – continues in the decoration of Gračanica. The robes worn by the saints are depicted in pure colours and with broad patches of light but their flesh is rendered in cooler shades with green and white dominating the Last Judgement. Although there are some frescoes in Gračanica which radiate with warmth, most often they were painted using light and transparent hues of green, yellow, blue and violet. Still, the standing figures of saints in the lowest register and the half-figures above them were rendered in a manner reminiscent of icon painting, meticulously and with a great degree of uniformity. Their faces are especially interesting in that sense, finished off in a rosy tone with an obvious desire to repeat the natural colouration of human physiognomy. Their cheekbones, noses, eyes, eyebrows and lips were modelled by thin reddish or brown lines. The portraits of king Milutin and queen Simonida were painted in a similar manner, although practically without any green at all so that a shaded pale pink hue became predominant on their faces.

Variations of this sort can not always be ascribed to the distinct handwritings of the artists, although it is certain that there were several of them at work on the decoration of Gračanica, because even the small-scale interior of Kraljeva crkva shows that they did not divide up ahead between them the space which they were going to decorate, least of all zone by zone. And even though they all synchronised their manner of painting to a considerable extent, it is not difficult to discern their distinct and personal characteristics.[42] Thus, the works of one of the best painters appear in several places in the church: he certainly painted the Pantokrator and several prophets in the dome, the evangelists on the pendentives, prophets Ezekiel, Sophoniah, Isaiah, Joel, Aaron and Moses high up on the piers, some of the most beautiful scenes of the Feasts – certainly the Annunciation, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Descent into Hades and most of the Dormition – as well as several representations of the Sermons of Christ and the Passion and Resurrection lections on the south wall. We find his works again in the altar (the Virgin in the apse, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and several other scenes from the cycle of the Virgin) and in the south parekklesion where he is credited with the more accomplished frescoes such as the Teachings of Christ, Eliah in the Desert, the Calming of the Storm, the Burning Bush and the holy monks in the lowest register. All these frescoes stand apart for their complex compositions